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USSR Carries Out Nuclear Blast in Semipalatinsk

LD130409 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0400 GMT 13 Feb 88

["TASS Announcement"—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received]—On 13 February, at 0605 Moscow time, an underground nuclear explosion with a yield of from 20 to 150 kiloton was carried out in the Soviet Union at the testing range in the vicinity of Semipalatinsk.

This test was carried out for the purpose of improving military technology.

Supreme Soviet Commissions Issue Appeal

LD121545 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] The Foreign Affairs Commissions of the USSR Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet have addressed an appeal to the parliaments and parliamentarians of Northern Europe, the United States and Canada to do all they can to turn the northern part of our planet into a zone of peace and fruitful interaction.

The Soviet-U.S. treaty on scrapping intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, signed in Washington, will be the first real step on the way toward nuclear disarmament. The text of the appeal was adopted at a joint sitting of the commissions in the Kremlin on 9 February. It has been sent to the parliaments of Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Finland, Sweden, the United States, and Canada.

U.S.-Soviet Talks Continue in Geneva

LD121746 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Geneva January 15 TASS—Last week, meetings within the framework of the groups on strategic weapons and outer space were continuing at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons.

As has already been reported, the Soviet side gave at the plenary session on February 9 a detailed evaluation of the state of things at the talks and tabled fresh constructive proposals aimed at getting agreement on the text of a number of articles dealing with the control of implementation of the provisions of the treaty being drafted on a 50-per cent cut in the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the USA in the conditions of observance and non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty in the course of an agreed time. It has been stressed that success at the talks can be ensured, if both sides strictly abide by the agreements reached as a result of the summit meeting in Washington last December.

The U.S. delegation tabled a draft protocol on inspections at a meeting of the group on strategic offensive weapons on February 12.

USSR Makes New Proposals

LD152157 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2119 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Geneva, Feb 15 (TASS)—A plenary session of the delegations took place today at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva.

The Soviet side put forward important new proposals aimed at agreeing on the text of articles connected with monitoring the fulfilment of the obligations which the sides will take on themselves in connection with the draft now in preparation of the "Treaty Between the USSR and United States on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms."

Soviet, U.S. Nuclear Test Talks Resume

LD151207 Moscow TASS in English 1158 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Geneva February 15 TASS—Soviet-American full-scale talks on the limitation and ultimate ending of nuclear tests resumed here today.

The first round was held last November.

It is expected that in the course of the second round the sides will reach agreement on all questions connected with the preparation and holding of a joint experiment at test sites in the USSR and the United States with the aim of working out improved measures of verifying compliance with the 1974 treaty on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests and the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

The exchange of visits by a Soviet and an American delegations to nuclear testing ranges in the area of Semipalatinsk and Nevada in January laid the groundwork for the speediest completion of the preparatory work.

Then the participants go over to reaching agreement on further restrictions of nuclear tests by their yield and number, and ultimately their full termination.

Palenykh on Purpose

LD131858 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1353 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] Geneva, 13 Feb (TASS)—Full-scale Soviet-U.S. talks on the limitation and cessation of nuclear weapons tests resume here Monday. The Soviet delegation to the negotiations arrived in Geneva today.

Delegation leader Igor Palenykh said that the purpose of the talks, which opened in Geneva last November, is at this stage to achieve promptly, preferably in the first half of 1988, agreement on effective verification measures that would make possible the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear

weapon tests of 1974 and on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes of 1976. The parties should then proceed without artificial interruption or delay to dealing with other issues, namely further limitation of the yield and numbers of nuclear tests and, ultimately, the complete cessation of nuclear testing.

During the forthcoming second round there is every reason to hope for the attainment of accords on all matters related to the preparation and conducting of a joint experiment in inspecting test sites in the USSR and the United States. The experiement is required to determine mutually acceptable measures for monitoring the treaties.

Reciprocated familiarization trips by the Soviet and U.S. experts to test sites in the vicinity of Semipalatinsk and in Nevada that were made this January have facilitated this to a considerable extent. They made it possible for the sides to familiarize themselves with the work of the test sites and with the specific conditions under which the joint monitoring experiment will be conducted. These trips, which took place in a constructive and cooperative atmosphere, laid the basis for the speedy completion of the work on preparing the experiment.

The Soviet delegation, I.M. Palenykh said, is ready in the future too to preserve this atmosphere and the fine tone in solving issues which was set in the preceding contacts between the sides, and will do everything it can to ensure successful completion of the work of the forthcoming round of negotiations.

Spokesman Rejects U.S. Claim on Missile Totals

PM121559 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 88 Morning Edition p4

[A. Kuvshinnikov, G. Charodeyev report" under rubric "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center": "Two-flank Attack]

[Excerpt] U.S. Senate is still discussing the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. A new argument against its ratification has suddenly appeared: The USSR has understated official figures on the number of missiles to be destroyed.

Figures and all other information concerning Soviet missiles, launch installations, auxiliary units, and equipment, G. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, observed in this connection, are set out as fully and as accurately as is humanly possible in the memorandum on the agreement to establish initial data, which is an integral part of the treaty.

As far as some Americans are concerned, to substantiate their viewpoint they are not counting the number of missiles we actually have but the number we could have if we wanted to make full use of our launch installations. If ifs and ands were pots and pans, as they say.... In reality, the Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed, these missiles simply do not exist. In this instance it is wrong to reckon in hypothetical terms. We must work with hard facts. The facts are recorded in the memorandum.

The treaty is also being attacked from another quarter. Addressing the Senate committee, E. Galbraith, former U.S. ambassador to France, compared the Soviet Union to a haystack and Soviet missiles to needles. Just try and find them, he said....

With such a totally negative attitude to the potential for monitoring and verification, the Soviet spokesman emphasized, it is quite impossible to discuss disarmament accords. But the allegations made by Mr Galbraith contrast with the conclusions of General Galvin, supreme commander, NATO Allied Forces, Europe. The latter analyzed all the intelligence information at his disposal and said that there are no objections which could be raised against the Soviet Union in this area. [passage omitted]

Chemical Weapons Seminar Ends; Reports Made

LD121850 Moscow TASS in English 1758 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Geneva February 12 TASS—A seminar on the prohibition of chemical weapons and verification of compliance with a future international convention ended here today.

It was attended by a number of delegations of countries taking part in the conference on disarmament and representatives of international government and non-government organisations.

Reports on the course of talks on this issue within the framework of the Geneva conference and on the positions of their countries were made by the heads of the delegations of Brazil, the USSR, the United States, Poland, Sweden, France and the FRG. Many participants in the seminar expressed concern over the decision of the United States to start the manufacture of binary chemical weapons. They expressed the view that this can impede the working out of verification measures and undermine trust.

Warsaw Pact, NATO Talks To Draft Mandate

LD151049 Moscow TASS in English 1032 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Vienna February 15 TASS—Representatives of Warsaw Treaty and NATO continued their consultations in Vienna today with the aim of drafting a mandate for talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. The part of the mandate pertaining to verification issues was discussed.

Soviet representative Yuriy Kashlev drew attention of the participants in the consultations to the principled approach to disarmament verification issues set forth in the statements by Mikhail Gorbachev general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It was stressed that in achieving the clear-cut agreement on the subject of

future talks which will cover the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, including dual-purpose systems, the Soviet side is prepared to agree to the most intrusive mutual verification procedures.

The meeting drew attention to the recent provocative action by American warships off the Crimea and emphasized that such actions were inadmissible.

Journalists Visit SS-20 Missile Site

LD131650 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] For the first time, foreign journalists have been able to see, photograph, and film SS-20 missiles in the Soviet Union from close quarters. The correspondents, from five states, including the GDR, visited an Army unit. They learned that after the intermediate-range treaty comes into effect, the armaments parts will be liquidated by being blown up or dismantled by oxyacetylene burners. The mobile launchers can be utilized to the benefit of the national economy. Prior to this, however, the hydraulic equipment used for lifting missiles will be removed and destroyed.

The correspondents were impressed at being able to visit the missile unit before ratification of the treaty. This was a further example of trust-building and an expression of Soviet resolve to put the Washington agreement into practice.

Pogodin Quotes Galvin's Modernization Remarks

LD111255 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] The major topic of the mass media in many Western countries today is the charge made by Prime Minister of Greece Andreas Papandreou against the leadership of NATO. He accused it of trying to undermine the Soviet-American Treaty on Eliminating Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Here is what Radio Moscow's news analyst Aleksandr Pogodin writes:

I don't want to make any guesses about how the discussion of the problem will go on at the meeting of the NATO countries' leaders next month. Will attention be given to the opinion expressed by the head of the Greek Government, or as usual, everything will be decided by the United States and the top leadership of NATO? I'd only like to stress the great importance of that issue. It is very indicative that actually at the same time when Papandreou made his statement the supreme commander of NATO forces in Europe, John Galvin, unvoluntarily of course, fully confirmed how just were the apprehensions voiced by the prime minister of Greece. What the general said boils down to the following: The treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles allegedly creates big gaps in NATO's defenses and this should be immediately filled up by modernizing the bloc's nuclear arsenals.

To my mind, an attempt is being made to put together things which are totally incompatible. On the one hand NATO applauds the Soviet-American treaty and insists on its speedy ratification. On the other, the NATO leaders demand the build up and modernization of nuclear arms, and if the objective of the Soviet-American treaty is to eliminate two classes of nuclear weapons and build the basis for sweeping reductions of strategic missiles, the purpose of the present NATO maneuvers is to reduce the treaty to nil and strip it of all its value. If the compensation plans are put into practice everything will actually return to what existed before the Washington agreement.

Kulbitskiy on Statement's Timing

LD131745 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] Bonn February 13 TASS—By TASS Correspondent G. Kulbitskiy:

The most aggressive circles of the North Atlantic Bloc are pressing ahead for the deployment in Western Europe of binary shells, a new type of U.S. product chemical weapons. This has even been confirmed by U.S. General John Galvin, NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe.

Speaking in an interview with the newspaper SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, he openly insisted on the stockpiling of binary weapons in Europe, since he was sure that the world strengthen deterrence. On top of that, he said, U.S. chemical weapons will be deployed in the same places as the troops.

Simultaneously the general declared for the implementation of the large-scale program for a modernisation in Western Europe of various types of weapons, not only tactical nuclear weapons, but also conventional ones.

It is noted that John Galvin made a statement in interview at a time when new prospects in the field of disarmament have opened after the signing in Washington of the Soviet-American INF Treaty. The West German political leaders are known to have declared more than once their interest in a total ban on chemical weapons. West German defense Minister Manfred Woerner recently openly said in one of his radio interviews that the new American binary chemical weapons, whose production was sanctioned by the U.S. President, would not be deployed in the FRG's territory.

Therefore the local political circles have assessed the latest statement by the NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe as an attempt at bringing pressure to bear on Bonn on the issue of its official stand in the field of disarmament.

New CEMA Foreign Economic Ties Committee Meets

LD151515 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—Promoting reciprocal trade on the basis of multilateral cooperation of the socialist countries in material production, specialization and co-production is the principal task of a committee that is being set up at the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).

The new authority to be known as the CMEA Committee for Cooperation in the Field of Foreign Economic Ties opened its constituent session in Moscow today.

The CMEA standing commission has dealt with issues of developing reciprocal trade for thirty years, although some issues related to trade and economic relations were handled by other bodies of the council.

Many working bodies considering narrow sectoral problems were formed within the framework of the standing commission. Many of these problems, according to experts, could be handed over to corresponding bodies in the fraternal countries without the CMEA's participation.

The new committee is to focus attention primarily on major issues of multilateral activity concerning the interests of each side grouped in the CMEA.

It will join the process of perfecting the mechanism of economic cooperation in order to facilitate the deepening and intensification of integration.

The committee will supervise work on perfecting price formation, contractual standards and general terms of reciprocal trade. Naturally, it will study issues and take decisions promoting the development of direct production ties among economic organizations in the fraternal countries and raising efficiency of joint ventures.

The sure of reciprocal trade of the CMEA member countries in their overall trade turnover is growing. Last year it accounted for 66 per cent. CMEA countries meet more than two thirds of their import requirements for machines, equipment and means of transportation thanks to reciprocal deliveries.

CSSR's Sterba To Participate

LD141719 Prague CTK in English 1613 GMT 14 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow Feb 14 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba arrived here today on a working visit.

He is heading the Czechoslovak delegation to the constituent session of a new committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance—for foreign economic relations.

Ministry Protests U.S. Navy Black Sea Incident

LD130939 Moscow TASS in English 0930 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—The Soviet Foreign Ministry declared a strong protest to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow today over a provocative and obviously deliberate action of the U.S. Navy, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said here today.

Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing for Soviet and foreign correspondents.

The Foreign Ministry said in its representation:

On February 12, 1988, two U.S. naval ships, the destroyer Caron and the cruiser Yorktown, respectively at 10.45 and 11.03 Moscow time violated the state border of the USSR off the southern coast of the Crimea, at a point with the coordinates 44 degrees 15.6 minutes latitude north and 33 degrees 30.0 minutes longitude east.

The American ships did not react to signals given by a Soviet border-guard ship in advance to warn them of their approaching the state border of the USSR and did not make suggested changes to their course.

A considerable distance inside Soviet territorial waters, the American naval ships executed dangerous maneuvering which led to a collision with Soviet naval ships.

Despite the collision, the cruiser Yorktown and the destroyer Caron continued to stay inside the territorial waters of the USSR and left them only at 12.49 at a point with the coordinates 44 degrees 12.5 minutes latitude north and 34 degrees 05.5 minutes longitude east.

Treating the dangerous incident most seriously, the Soviet side declares a strong protest over the provocative and clearly deliberate action of the American Navy.

The Soviet side cannot but see the activities of the U.S. Navy as aimed at undermining the nascent process of improvements in Soviet-american relations and heightening international tension.

Responsibility for the provocation which has led to the collission of naval ships of the two countries lies wholly and squarely with the American side.

The American side has already been warned about the inadmissibility of violating the laws and regulations of the USSR concerning the regime of Soviet territorial waters and about the serious consequences such actions can lead to. It ought to heed this warning as well.

The ministry demands that the U.S. Government take urgent measures to rule out similar incidents in the future.

Gerasimov on Incident's Impact

LD131115 Moscow TASS in English 1027 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—"We hope that the incident south of the Crimean peninsula will not hamper the process of improving the Soviet-U.S. relationship, whose projected landmarks include a meeting of the defense ministers, a meeting of the foreign ministers, and a summit," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said at a briefing today.

Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, added: "We hope this process will continue."

"But we cannot see yesterday's activities on the Black Sea as anything other than aiming to undermine the nascent process of improvements in Soviet-American relations," he went on to say.

Recalling history, the spokesman noted that military provocations had taken place fairly often at times when Soviet-U.S. relations had begun to show signs of improving.

He pointed to the provocation involving a U.S. U-2 spy plane that frustrated a summit in the early'60s as the best-known among them.

Gerasimov noted also that the latest incident had not been the first deliberate violation of the Soviet state border by U.S. naval ships.

(On March 13, 1986, the same two warships, the cruiser Yorktown and the destroyer Caron, crossed the Soviet border and sailed to an area south of the Crimea.

On May 17 and 21, 1987, the U.S. missile cruiser Arkansas violated the Soviet border in the area of the Avacha Bay.)

"We hope that nothing of the kind will continue in the future," the Soviet spokesman emphasized.

Admiral Speaks at Briefing

LD131148 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—Soviet Rear-Admiral Nikolay Markov today blamed yesterday's collisions between U.S. and Soviet naval ships in the Black Sea on the commanders of the U.S. vessels who ignored warnings and continued to steam in Soviet territorial waters.

Markov, who is a directorate chief at the Soviet Armed Forces' General Staff, was speaking at a briefing in the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press center, which was devoted to the February 12 maritime incident south of the Crimea.

The Soviet ships, he said, had been fulfilling their task to ensure the security of the Soviet state border and acted in conformity with the law on the state border of the USSR.

The U.S. ships, he added, had been warned not only in advance, that is before crossing the Soviet border, but also after they had crossed it, and they should have left Soviet territorial waters by the shortest possible route, as envisaged by international law, but they had not done that.

Commenting on the incident, the rear-admiral said: "Unfailing and mutual respect for the inviolability of state borders meets the interests of the entire world community, of all the states, regardless of which blocs they might belong to."

Replying to newsmen's questions, he said: "No complication in Soviet-U.S. relations, which have now been developing positively, would be in the interests of the Soviet Union and, I believe, the United States as well.

"Soviet ships will not use weapons against ships of other countries, unless such use is necessitated by obviously hostile actions. The USSR abides by the principle of no-first-use of weapons."

News Conference

LD131530 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists took place at the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry in Moscow today in connection with the incident with U.S. naval ships which violated the USSR state border in the Black Sea. Our commentator Viktor Levin reports.

[Levin] Comrade Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry Information Department, who opened the briefing, acquainted those present with the protest of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs which today was lodged with the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

The protest points out that on 12 February two U.S. naval ships, the destroyer Caron and the cruiser Yorktown violated the USSR state border off the south coast of the Crimea.

The U.S. ships did not respond to the signals given by a Soviet coast guard ship in advance to warn them that they were approaching the USSR state border and, having penetrated into the Soviet Union's territorial waters over a considerable distance, carried out dangerous maneuvering which resulted in a collision with Soviet naval ships.

The Soviet side cannot but regard the U.S. Navy's activities as aimed at undermining the incipient process of improving improvements in Soviet-U.S. relations and heightening international tension. the protest says.

The ministry demands that the U.S. Government take urgent measures which would rule out similar incidents in the future.

That is the essence of the protest.

Some 10 questions, as I counted them, were asked at the briefing. They were repeated frequently, and therefore it seems expedient to me to mention only the main ones. The questions were answered by Rear Admiral Markov, deputy chief of a Directorate of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

A REUTER correspondent, quoting a report from the U.S. Defense Department, which stated there had been two collisions and the Soviet vessels deliberately rammed the U.S. vessels, asked to be told precisely what happened. Rear Admiral Markov said:

[Begin Markov recording] I would answer that question as follows: The Soviet vessels were carrying out their duty to ensure the security of the Soviet state borders. In this case, despite the timely warnings that they had been given by the Soviet frontier vessels, the U.S. vessels ignored the recommendations that they were given and still violated the Soviet state frontier.

In these conditions, in accordance with the law, the Soviet law on the protection of state borders, the Soviet vessels undertook all measures as prescribed by law. As a result of the dangerous situation created by the U.S. vessels a collision took place—two collisions, between our Soviet vessels and the U.S. vessels.

As a result of the collisions no considerable damage or breach of the integrity of the vessels occurred. The vessels of the two sides continued in accordance with their previous intentions. Here I must note that the U.S. vessels, in this case too, did not leave Soviet territorial waters but continued to sail in them until 1249. [end recording] [Levin] By the way, in the course of the briefing a question was asked about the tonnage of the U.S. and the Soviet vessels. Thus, the cruiser Yorktown has a displacement of 9,600 tonnes, the destroyer Caron some 5,500 tonnes. As to our ships, one has a tonnage of slightly over 3,000 tonnes and the second lightly over 1,000 tonnes. These are, I would say, the weight categories.

The reply to a question by a PEOPLE'S NEWS correspondent deserves attention. Again it arose out of the positions of the U.S. Defense Department claiming the U.S. ships have a right of passage through territorial waters.

[Begin Markov recording] In this connection I can answer your question as follows: As I have already reported, there exists a law on the protection of the state borders of the Soviet Union. This law does not provide for the right, as you said, of peaceful passage for naval vessels of any country through Soviet territorial waters in

the Black Sea. I think the strict observance and respect, mutual respect, of the nonviolability of the state borders of the sides, is in the interests of the entire world community, irrespective of their affiliation to various alliances. [end recording]

[Levin] Comrade Gerasimov speaks.

[Begin recording] [Gerasimov] I can add that in Russian we speak of the right of peaceful passage [mirnyy prokhod]. In English this is rendered as a right to innocent passage. It seems to me the word innocent that is to say, innocent [nevinnyy], without malicious intent, inadvertent, honest, has perhaps a wider meaning. It seems to me that, from the point of view of an ordinary person, it isn't clear why and wherefore the U.S. naval vessels were so close to Yalta, Gurzuf...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] Sevastopol.

[Gerasimov] Sevastopol, too. It seems to me that this innocence, this innocence, wasn't there. Regarding the legal side of the question, there is an international law handbook which says precisely that, during passage through territorial waters, naval vessels must conform to the instructions which they may receive from the local naval or border command. There were such instructions and they ignored them. [end recording]

[Levin] Then a question was asked which reminded me of a current joke in the West presenting Soviet people in an unflattering light. The joke is as follows: An American, having arrived in Moscow, in a conversation with a Soviet citizen criticizes everything he has seen. The Soviet person, according to the joke, cannot find anything specific to answer, and then, unexpectedly blurts out: And in your country they hang blacks! The question was asked by an Associated Press correspondent: How close are Soviet naval vessels permitted to approach the waters of other countries? I think, the U.S. journalist continued, many remember the incident with the Soviet submarine which indisputably intruded into Swedish territorial waters. This is how Rear Admiral Markov replied to this:

[Begin Markov recording] I think that that incident with the Soviet submarine, to which you just referred, has nothing to do with this case. Regarding that case, sufficient answers have been given and I believe there is no point here in returning to that. [end recording]

[Levin] A calm, to the point, dignified reply, as you can see.

Markov Outlines Incident

PM142005 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 4

[G . Alimov 13 February interview with Admiral K.V. Makarov,chief of Navy Main Staff and first deputy commander of the Navy: "Adm Makarov: They Did Everything To Avoid an Incident"; place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] On 13 February IZVESTIYA's correspondent met with Adm K.V. Makarov, chief of Navy Main Staff and first deputy commander of the Navy. This is what he related:

The events developed as follows: On 10 February a detachment of U.S. warships comprising the missile cruiser Yorktown and the destroyer Caron entered the Black Sea. The actions of these ships were kept under surveillance by the Black Sea Fleet escort vessels Bezzavetnyy and SKR-6. By the morning of 12 February the U.S. ships were 50 miles off the Crimean coast, steering a course toward Soviet territorial waters. At 1000 hours, at a distance of 9 miles from them, the Bezzavetnyy radioed in English to the U.S. ships that their course was taking them into the USSR's territorial waters, and it was suggested that no violation be committed. The Yorktown made the following reply: "Signal understood, but I am exercising the right of innocent [mirnyy] passage."

At 1008 hours the cruiser was informed: "In accordance with USSR legislation foreign warships do not enjoy the right of innocent passage in the said region. To avoid an incident I request that you do not commit a violation of the USSR's territorial waters." Came the reply: "I have understood you. I am violating nothing."

At 1040 hours it was again suggested to the U.S. ships that they alter course, display prudence, and not violate the rules of navigation. At 1043 the reply was received: "I will not alter course."

Despite a further warning and all the other established warning signals, the Caron—at 1045 hours—and the Yorktown—at 1103 hours—violated the USSR state border in the vicinity of the Crimea's southern coast.

The Soviet escorts demanded they leave our territorial waters immediately. Ignoring the signals and the warning, however,the U.S. ships continued their course deep into the country's territorial waters. Moreover, they undertook dangerous maneuvering, which led to a collision with the Soviet warships.

I wish to recall that territorial waters are an inalienable part of our state, they are the continuation of the country's land territory. In accordance with the law "On the USSR State Border" the extent of Soviet territorial waters is 12 nautical miles—approximately 22 km. But the Americans penetrated 7 km inside our country's territory [uglubilis v predelakh territorii nashey strany na 7 kilometrov].

As far as the right of innocent passage is concerned, it should be explained that in accordance with the regulations existing in the USSR foreign warships can exercise this right only in those places where international shipping routes have been established. The configuration of the USSR's seaboards is such that such international maritime routes pass through three locations: the Baltic

Sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Sea of Japan. There are no such designated routes in the Black Sea. U.S. official authorities and warship commanders are well informed about and well aware of this.

The actions taken by the Soviet seamen are evaluated as competent and timely, and moreover our ships observed the prevailing norms of international law and the requirements of the Soviet state's laws. Up until the last minute the Soviet sailors did everything to avoid an incident.

Incident Confirms Security Needs

LD161530 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] Vienna February 16 TASS—A member of the Soviet delegation to the meeting of representatives of states participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe today denounced the violation of the USSR's sea borders off the southern Crimean coast by American warships.

Maj.-Gen. Viktor Tatarnikov pointed out that the provocative action confirmed the urgent need for spreading confidence-building measures and security to naval activity in seas and oceans adjoining Europe to make it more predictable, open and controllable.

The Soviet representative drew attention of the Vienna meeting's participants to the significance of Mikhail Gorbachev's Murmansk initiatives directed at restricting naval activity in northern Europe and in other sea regions adjoining Europe.

'Provocation' Called 'Deliberate'

LD152052 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Interview with Military Observer Colonel Eduard (Asaturov) speaking in Russian with superimposed English translation—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] More details have been coming into light about last week's intrusion by American naval vessels into Soviet territorial waters in the Black Sea. We have in our studios Colonel Eduard (Asaturov) a military observer:

[(Asaturov)] Two circumstances came to my attention at once. First [words indistinct] where the main Soviet Black Sea naval base is situated. Second, the type of the intruder ships. The destroyer Caron is a special purpose ship. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES it is equipped for spying and had earlier been engaged in reconnaissance operations of the shores of Nicaragua, Libya and Lebanon. Incidentally, it was involved in a provocative raid in the Black Sea in the spring of 1986. Back then, just as at this time, it intruded into Soviet territorial waters together with the missile carrying battleship Yorktown.

What finally convinced me that the provo clearly deliberate and its goal was purely information gathering was the behavior of tives of the chief of staff of the American briefing in the Pentagon. They even did not t the journalists' suspicion that it had been mission. However, the commander of the Sovi [as heard] vessel Bezzavetny, with which the battleship Yorktown collided, Captain (Bogda said he clearly saw that all the Yorktown's radar were working. He also reported that he had wa intruders repeatedly and although they had him they did not change their course or spe collision had occurred.

[Announcer] What has been the Soviet milita reaction?

[(Asaturov)] The General Headquarters of t Armed Forces have expressed concern that tions of Soviet frontiers in the Black Sea, in th and in the Baltic Sea are tending to be syst nature.

[Announcer] Who do you think organized the tion and why?

[(Asaturov)] I don't think the decision of s provocation was taken at the level of ship's c and perhaps not even at the level of the Penta has called the action a routine assignment. Soviet-American relations are changing for t and arms reduction is in sight this is cle someone's liking and that explains military p for far-reaching political aims.

U.S. Commanders 'Responsible'

PM161105 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Morning Edition p 4

[G. Charodeyev report: "Dislodgement From Waters. At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press

[Text] Rear Admiral N.P. Markov, deputy USSR Armed Forces General Staff addressed Soviet and foreign journalists at Foreign Ministry Press Center. The corre asked him to amplify certain questions of them.

REUTER: In remarks about this incident [U.S. and Soviet warships in the Black Sea] Defense Department has stated that the So deliberately rammed the U.S. ships. Is this t

[Markov] The Soviet ships fulfilled their ta guarding the security of the Soviet State Bor case in question the U.S. ships violated the US despite advance warnings to them from the S der services. Under these conditions and in with the existing law "On the USSR State B

Soviet ships took all measures prescribed by this law. As a result of the dangerous situation, for which the U.S. side was responsible, two collisions took place between the Soviet and U.S. ships. The ships were not substantially damaged or holed. They continued to act in accordance with their previous intentions. I must note that even then the Americans did not leave our territorial waters but continued the violation.

AP: What precise maneuvers were taken by the U.S. ships, and were they a violation of existing laws relating to warships?

[Markov] The commanders of the Soviet ships warned the Americans both prior to and after their intersection of the Soviet border. There is a concept known as "dislodgement beyond the limits of territorial waters." The commanders of the Soviet ships also carried out these maneuvers. If the U.S. ships had reacted positively to the Soviet warning they should have left Soviet territorial waters by the shortest route. They did not do this. Therefore we believe the commanders of the U.S. warships were responsible for the collision.

NBC-TV: If such incidents are repeated in the future, does the Soviet side admit the possibility of opening fire on such ships?

[Markov] I think it is not in the interests of either the USSR or the United States to complicate interstate relations and the international situation as a whole. We do not suppose that the commanders of Soviet ships will ever proceed to use weapons against anyone if this is not provoked by obviously hostile actions from warships.

The Soviet Union adheres to the principle of non-first-use of weapons. This principle is completely valid in this situation.

'Law of the Sea' Reviewed

LD152345 Moscow TASS in English 2332 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Marlen Volosov, chief secretary of the Soviet Law of the Sea Association, has described the crossing of the state border of the USSR by the U.S. warships as a breach of international legal norms. The destroyer Caron and the cruise Yorktown intruded into Soviet territorial waters in the area of the southern coast of the Crimea last Friday.

"The trespassers' allusions to the so-called 'right of innocent passage' won't hold water, the Soviet lawyer emphasized. Under the legislation existing in the USSR foreign warships may not exercise this right in the given area of the Black Sea, because there are no designated routes for international shipping. The U.S. navymen knew that well enough. Nevertheless they resorted to an unlawful action".

"Maritime laws specify that warships while exercising the right of innocent passage should strictly observe the requirements of the littoral state so as to prevent breaches of safety and good order in foreign territorial waters".

"The provocative actions of the U.S. warships run counter to such universally recognized legal documents as the 1958 Geneva Law of the Sea Convention and the U.N. Law of the Sea Convention of 1982", Professor Volosov emphasized.

U.S. 'Mum' on Israeli 'Atrocities'

LD161210 Moscow TASS in English 1131 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—TASS analyst Maksim Knyazkov writes:

Asked today by journalists about the opinion of the command of the Israeli Armed Forces concerning reports which leaked to the press that Israeli soldiers had made an attempt to...bury alive several unarmed Palestinians on the Jordan West Bank several days ago, Major Ofra Press, a spokeswoman of the Israeli Army, said that that had been an exceptional case and an unthinkable insane act which was not, of course, a rule.

Indeed, what happened in the Palestinian village of Salim, was a real reminder of the most tragic events of the last war. The British newspaper "OBSERVER" reported that on February 5 four young Palestinians—brothers Abdul and Musa Stayeh and Muhsen and Mustafa Hamdan—were seized and beaten by an Israeli patrol for participating in a protest demonstration against Israeli terror on the occupied Arab territories.

However, that was not the end of the "punishment". Soldiers ordered Palestinians to lay on the ground with their faces down, brought a bulldozer and ordered the bulldozer driver to squash the young people. The driver refused. Then, threatening the driver with submachine-guns, they ordered him to heap soil on the arrested.

The young people did not die only due to the fact that local residents rushed to the earthen hill after the patrol's departure and dug them out with their hands. Two of the brothers were already unconscious by that time.

If we are to believe the Army spokeswoman, the above-mentioned is no more than a "regrettable isolated case" by which one should not judge about the activities of Israeli troops, the more so, of the authorities.

But several hours after the meeting of Major Press with journalists where she persuaded them not to draw far-reaching conclusions, she was indirectly refuted by

nobody else but the influential Israeli newspaper "YEDI'OT AHARONOT". It carried testimonies of an unidentified army surgeon who had worked for three weeks at Ansar-2, an Israeli concentration camp for Palestinians.

It is situated in the Gaza Strip, that is far from the village of Salim but events in both places have many similar traits. "I came from Europe, and my parents told me what they had happened to see during the Second World War," the surgeon told a newspaper correspondent. The doctor went on to say that he could not imagine that Jews could do the same to any other people what Germans had done to them. Of course there are no gas chambers here and no murder busses. But Israelis are not far from this—manhandling, humiliation. He saw water-drenched people covered with mud and bruises, people with tied hands and blindfold. Strikes were inflicted on their arms, backs and heads. Soldiers quickly learnt how to deliver blows which were especially painful but which left only bruises and no serious wounds, said the army surgeon.

Is it also an "isolated case"? Was the hideous massacre instigated by the Israelis in 1982 in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila in occupied Lebanon also a "senseless accident"?

No, it is not. If such atrocities are being perpetrated everywhere, there is only one definition to this—genocide. It is being carried on deliberately with the clear approval of Israeli top leaders.

One more circumstance is very indicative. The State Department published an annual report quite recently on the situation with human rights in the world. Israel is presented there as a country having a relatively good record in this respect.

It turns out that it was not very convenient to reproach the U.S. closest ally in the Middle East. Officials of the U.S. Administration are keeping mum even now when new atrocities of the Israeli soldiery were made known. It seems that Washington champions of "human rights" have preserved the old double standard for assessing these rights.

Shevardnadze Replies to Mediterranean Nations

LD161346 Moscow TASS in English 1315 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Yugoslavia's federal secretary for foreign affairs on behalf of Mediterranean nations grouped in the Non-aligned Movement has sent a message to Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

It expressed a high political view of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty, stressed the latter's consonance with the interests of the non-aligned countries of the region and expressed the hope that the positive results of the agreement will bear on the issues of reducing nuclear and other arms in the Mediterranean.

The message voiced several specific considerations on the problem of security there.

Shevardnadze the other day sent a reply on behalf of the Soviet Government, saying that the Soviet Union is prepared to further dialogue and interaction with the non-aligned Mediterranean nations in the interest of bringing down tension and making the Mediterranean a zone of stable peace, goodneighborliness and cooperation.

Just like the non-aligned Mediterranean states, the Soviet Union believes that the fundamentally new situation in various areas of international relations in the wake of the signature of the INF Treaty offers real possibilities to spread the positive processes making headway in Europe and in the international situation in general to the Mediterranean which is an exceptionally important region.

The reply called special attention to the danger of NATO's contemplated plans to "offset" the Treaty on the Elimination of U.S. and Soviet Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles by building up other kinds of weaponry, in particular sea-based and air-borne systems, plans which run counter to the general psychological tenor in the world and add to the already high degree of militarization, including that in the Mediterranean.

In this connection, in the Soviet Union's opinion, it is ever more imperative to scale down the persisting high level of nuclear confrontation in the region as a step towards a nuclear-free Mediterranean, dismantle foreign military bases and facilities of non-Mediterranean countries there, limit the intensity and scope of naval activity, and extend confidence- and security-building measures in the spirit of the Stockholm accords to cover the Mediterranean.

For its part, the USSR is prepared to support practical steps in this direction and, as a beginning, to assume corresponding obligations, including, if the United States reciprocates, those not to build up nuclear arms in the Mediterranean and refrain from increasing the size of its naval force there.

The Soviet Union declares also that there are no Soviet chemical weapons anywhere outside its borders and this applies to the Mediterranean as well.

Just like the non-aligned Mediterranean nations, the Soviet Union considers it important that the military-political aspects of the Mediterranean problems should not remain outside talks on security and disarmament in Europe.

The position of the non-aligned countries should be taken into account in working out further practical decisions as regards the reduction of nuclear and conventional arms.

The Soviet Government in its reply stressed the need to step up the efforts of all interested states in the region towards creating a nuclear-free zone of peace, security and cooperation in the Mediterranean.

Kashlev Underscores Importance of CSCE Issues

LD122056 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Vienna, 12 Feb (TASS)—Kashlev, head of the USSR delegation, spoke at the Vienna meeting today of the states parties to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He analyzed the state of affairs in the economic sphere and those linked to it in the all-European process. It was noted that now when a serious boost has been given to political dialogue and the disarmament process, a favorable atmosphere is being created for the comprehensive development of economic, scientific and technical links and for cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection.

Various types of discrimination, embargoes, and trade credit restrictions contradict this, which could entail a "technological schism" of Europe and thereby weaken our mutual dependence. It would be an unforgiveable mistake to subjugate trade, economic, and scientific and technical links to short-term political interests, rejecting long-term comprehensive benefits promised by the process of deepening cooperation in these spheres.

The corresponding section of the final document of the Vienna meeting must be weighty in content, must answer the real economic, scientific, technological, and ecological needs and possibilities of the continent. The Soviet representative underscored the importance of fully reflecting issues on removing the discrimination barriers, developing promising forms of communications such as joint enterprises, industrial, and scientific and production cooperation, cooperation in new priority spheres of science and technology.

Attention was paid to the importance of the complex approach to environmental problems in the context of creating an integral system of international ecological security. In the Soviet Union's opinion, one of the promising directions is cooperation in the task of protecting the north's atmosphere and scientific research of the arctic on the basis of the Soviet proposals submitted in Murmansk.

Describes Recent Steps

LD112113 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] In the Austrian capital a meeting of representatives of the member-states to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe continues. The leader of the Soviet delegation, Ambassador Yuriy Borisovich Kashlev, gave an interview to our correspondent in Vienna.

[Begin Kashlev recording] In recent weeks the delegations of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have drawn the attention of all the participants in the all-European meeting to the fact that it is necessary to speed up the development of accords on military and political affairs. We proposed that important conventional weapons components, such as dual purpose systems, are subject to reduction—in other words, the sort of systems that can be used with both conventional and nuclear warheads. These systems are inseparable from conventional weapons in the armies of many countries. We insist that these systems, that is, large caliber artillery, and tactical strike air forces and missiles, be taken into account in the course of future reductions. The West objects to the nuclear aspect of these weapons being discussed at the talks, that is, the actual warheads [boyegolovki], nuclear charges [boyezaryady] and so on.

This week we took another constructive step in this area. When Foreign Minister Shevardnadze visited Bonn he said that it would be possible to develop a formula according to which the carriers of dual purpose systems are subject to discussion, counting, and reduction, while discussion of the nuclear component, that is, the warheads, is postponed. At the moment we are waiting for a reaction from the West to this new constructive proposal by the socialist countries. This will be a test as to whether they are really prepared to conduct serious and large talks on armed forces reduction in Europe. [end recording]

United States & Canada

Further Reportage on Black Sea Incident

'Provocation' Reported

PM161125 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Captain 3d Rank V. Pasyakin: "Soviet Sailors Acted Coolly and Confidently off the Crimean Coast"]

[Text] Captain 3d Rank V. Pasyakin, our permanent Black Sea Fleet correspondent, was entrusted with ascertaining the details of what happened off the Crimean coast. This is what he reported:

I was given the following information at the Black Sea Fleet headquarters. On 10 February this year, the guided missile cruiser "Yorktown" and the destroyer "Caron" entered Black Sea waters through the Bosphorus Strait. It must be pointed out that this is not the first time they have been this way for reconnaissance purposes. You only have to recall March 1986, when it was precisely the "Yorktown" and the "Caron" that violated the border off the Crimean coast.

This time the "Yorktown" and the "Caron" once again headed for the Crimean peninsula. They set course toward our territorial waters. They were soon approached by a patrol craft under the command of Captain Lieutenant A. Petrov, and the patrol craft "Bezzavetnyy," under the command of Captain 2d Rank V. Bagdashin, as well as by several border craft.

At 1000 hours on 12 February this year, the U.S. Navy ships were not far from Soviet territorial waters. The Americans were repeatedly warned over an international radio channel that their course was leading to a violation of the USSR state border and were ordered to change it. The answer came: Warning received. However, the U.S. Navy ships continued moving and entered the USSR's territorial waters at a speed of 14 knots. The Soviet craft used flags and the radio to demand that the Americans leave our waters without delay. That demand was not met either. Moreover, as a result of dangerous maneuvering by the Americans, ships touched, and ships of both sides were slightly damaged. Finally, at 1249 hours, the U.S. Navy ships left Soviet territorial waters.

I managed to contact by radio Capt 2d Rank V. Bagdashin, commander of the patrol craft "Bezzavetnyy." This is what he said:

"Judging by the behavior of the U.S. ships' commanders, it was a preplanned provocation. All that time we were ready for the most decisive actions and tried to do everything to stop the provocation. It was one more test of Soviet sailors' vigilance, coolness, and professional skill. Captain Lieutenants O. Baksheyev and A. Podlozhnov, Senior Lieutenants V. Katushenko and O. Bukavnev, Petty Officer 2d Class A. Alekseyev, Seaman 1st Class S. Podar, and many others acted efficiently and confidently."

Gorokhov Commentary

PM161241 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[A. Gorokhov article: "What Do They Want Near Our Shores? U.S. Navy's Intolerable Actions"]

[Text] What is drawing attention? Above all the enviable stability of the characters in the Black Sea performance. The crews of the U.S. warships are evidently continuing to perfect their skill in "research" activity off other peoples' shores, especially in the vicinity of Sevastopol—our Black Sea Fleet's main naval base. True, the scenario has changed somewhat. If you look at the map of the Black Sea, on the previous occasion (in March 1986) these same ships came, if you can use this expression, counterclockwise, whereas this time they came clockwise. As before they were met by the forces and means of the USSR KGB border guards and the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet, warned that they were approaching the state border, and then told that the "guests" had already violated it. When they saw that it was impossible to get anything sensible out of them, apart from "okay," the escort vessels "Bezzavetnyy" and SKR-6 began "to dislodge" the Americans—seamen use this term—from Soviet territorial waters.

As a result the missile cruiser "Yorktown," displacing 9,600 tonnes, suffered damage to its side. The aft launch installation of the Harpoon antiship missile was also damaged. Our SKR-6 patrol boat (approximately 1,000 tonnes displacement) had received a small hole above the waterline a minute earlier as a result of a similar situation involving the destroyer "Caron" (5,700 tonnes displacement). By a fortunate coincidence, there were no casualties among or injuries to the personnel of either side.

The General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces received information about the incident a few minutes after the ships collided. Here, at the General Staff, I was told in no uncertain terms of their concern that such violations of the Soviet border are becoming systematic.

I do not believe that people across the Atlantic have not heard about the law "On the USSR State Border" adopted on 24 November 1982, or the "Rules of Navigation and Sojurn by Foreign Warships in USSR Territorial Waters (Territorial Sea)" ratified by the USSR Council of Ministers on 28 April 1983. The "Instructions to Mariners" issued by our state must, evidently, be read there sometimes. Presumably the Pentagon's commentaries will once again boil down to "the right of warships to peaceful passage." But to where and for what? Not from Odessa to Poti? Yes, warships can cross

territorial waters by the shortest routes which do not lead into internal waters and ports. However, these routes can be designated by the littoral state. Who else is to regulate traffic through "their" waters? This does not come from homegrown statutes but from a UN convention.

By what routes do we permit foreign warships peaceful passage? This is the so-called system of traffic division [sistema razdeleniya dvizheniya] in the regions of the Kypu peninsula and the Porkkala beacon (Baltic Sea), Cape Aniva (Sakhalin Island), and the Chetvertyy Kurilskiy Strait (Sea of Okhotsk) and Cape Krilon (Sakhalin Island). In short, you can still enter here "without knocking." In any other place, in accordance not only with elementary courtesy but also with international norms, advance warning must be given.

Do Soviet warships exercise the right of peaceful passage? At the General Staff, I was told: The need for this does not arise, and on the rare occasions when they visit, for example, the Gulf of Mexico, they use only the open sea.

Have we committed many violations of other people's territorial waters? "There can be no question of this at all!"—I was assured. Incidentally, friction never arises if the "visitor" adheres to the rules adopted within the world community.

The phrase "peaceful passage" when translated literally from English comes out as "innocent" [nevinnyy]. To all appearances, U.S. Navy seamen lost their "innocence" quite some time ago.

What is behind all this? I surmise that the world community's latest acquisitions in the shape of, say, the INF Treaty, go against the grain with some people. Evidently they want to complicate interstate relations and hamper the further disarmament process. Such "innocent" pranks can be costly, too costly. That is how it is.

Yesterday evening 36-year-old Captain Second Rank V. Bogdashin, commander of the "Bezzavetnyy" escort vessel and a graduate of the P.S. Nakhimov Higher Naval School, who had flown in from Sevastopol, arrived at the PRAVDA editorial office. He brought with him the published photograph showing one of the moments during the dislodging of the "Yorktown" by our "Bezzavetnyy" [article is accompanied by poor-quality photograph which may intend to depict two ships in contact with or close proximity to each other].

"At approximately 0900 hours on 12 February," the commander said, "a detachment of U.S. warships to the southwest of Sevastopol turned onto a course of 90°, that is, an easterly course. According to our calculations, in 60-70 minutes they might enter our territorial waters. I made contact with the cruiser on the international 16th channel and issued a warning. They replied that they understood. However, they did not change course and speed, that is, they continued on their earlier course.

"We took up a position between them and the shore and sent up the signal 'Your course is leading to danger!' We contacted them once again. Then we transmitted several more times. They answered: We are exercising our right to peaceful passage, although we could all see clearly that all the radar stations on the cruiser were activated.

"At 1100 hours precisely," Vladimir Ivanovich continued, "I was abeam the cruiser at a distance of 50 m. At 1102 I had come within 2 m and our speed was approximately 20 knots. Once again I hoisted all signals and made contact. No effect! I had already decided that I had to carry out my orders—to dislodge the intruder—but it was by no means easy to approach at a speed of 18-20 knots and dislodge it. The sensation was like being alongside a tanker. The commander and a large group of officers stood on the bridge, and there were about 40 men with cameras on the helicopter pad below, laughing. I saw their faces....

"As laid down, I had announced a practice alert just a little earlier. They too, I could hear. There was no question of using weapons. It was the same on board Lieutenant Captain Petrov's SKR-6, incidentally. What next? I announced over the intercom that the intruder ships were closing in and deployed emergency groups. To be honest, no one at the command post put on life jackets, although the order had been given. The helmsman—Petty Officer First Class A. Tyukachev—worked fine and fulfilled all the commands precisely.... In a word, he carried out his combat orders...."

Shishlin Commentary

LD141724 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 14 Feb 88

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] Well, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz is expected in Moscow very soon now. He is due to arrive in Moscow on 21 February. But it grieves me very much to have to say that his visit has been preceded by this extremely unpleasant incident that has occurred in the Black Sea. What is it all about? A provocation—well, provocation is a rather well-worn word, and it is boring to keep repeating it. What we are talking about is a piece of political behavior: a political act that runs counter both to the direction affirmed by the Washington summit and to the trends that have begun to take shape in the developments of 1988—the development of international relations in 1988.

But I do not think this sweeps from the table the major problem in Soviet-U.S. relations, namely the problem of completing work on the treaty for a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive arms with observance of the ABM Treaty regimen and an undertaking by the sides not to withdraw from that treaty during a period agreed in advance. The work in Geneva on that treaty is sticking; the going is tough, and some fairly complicated knots

have been tied there, which the Soviet and U.S. diplomats are just not managing to untangle. All the same, we have had the experience of working on the INF Treaty. There, too, there were some pretty difficult tangles, and we have succeeded in unravelling them. In any case, if we consider what the political weight, the political value, of the treaty on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive arms represents, I do not think we should stint our efforts to get that treaty off the ground. What that treaty is worth is a radical change of direction in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations and in the development of international relations as such. Well, be that as it may, we will see what Shultz brings with him.

Patrol Craft Captain Remarks

LD132025 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS- "The sail of U.S. warships inside the Soviet territorial waters, which took place on February 12, was a clearly deliberate action", said Vladimir Bagdashin, captain 2nd rank and commander of the patrol craft "Bezzavetny".

"Even prior to going inside the USSR's territorial waters, south of the Crimean peninsula, the guided-missile cruiser 'Yorktown' and the destroyer 'Caron' were warned via the international radio channel that they were approaching the border. There were suggested changing the course. However, they kept sailing along the route charted in advance, referring to the right to peaceful passage, he said in a TASS interview.

"I repeated several times that under the USSR's laws entering our territorial waters in this area was banned and the right to peaceful passage was invalid with respect to it", the commander of the "Bezzavetny" noted.

"When the U.S. warships entered the Soviet territorial waters, the 'Bezzavetny' and our second ship 'SKR-6' received the order to oust them out of the border limits. We started to converge. Having approached the U.S. Navy missile-guided cruiser and the destroyer at a distance of two meters and sailing by a parallel course, the Soviet ships hoisted code flag, established once again radio contact with the U.S. warships and demanded anew that they leave the USSR's territorial waters. Without receiving an answer, the 'Bezzavetny' and the 'SKR-6' came close to the U.S. warships' sides with a view to ousting them. No damage was caused to either the Soviet or the U.S. ships as a result of coming into contact. The 'Yorktown' and the 'Caron' continued for some time sailing in the USSR's territorial waters and then left them".

Vladimir Bagdashin emphasized that there was no question of using weapons against the violaters of the USSR's state border. An emergency drill was sounded on the Soviet ships.

Views of 'Bezzavetnyy' Crew

PM161300 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Report by Captain 3d Class V. Pasyakin, "our correspondent for the Black Sea Fleet," under the rubric "Reporting Details": "Incident off the Shores of the Crimea"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] After the return of the escort ship "Bezzavetnyy" to base, Captain 3d Class V. Pasyakin, our correspondent for the Black Sea Fleet, visited its berth. In the course of a conversation with crew members, additional details emerged of the incident which occurred on 12 February through the fault of ships of the U.S. Navy.

When it became clear that the course of the guided missile cruiser "Yorktown" and the destroyer "Caron" led into Soviet territorial waters, the Soviet warships "SKR-6" and SKR [escort ship] "Bezzavetnyy" were dispatched to meet them.

By 0800 hours on 12 February, just after dawn, the cruiser and the destroyer were approaching Soviet territorial waters. Our ships repeatedly warned them by radio and by flags of the necessity to change course.

"How did the American seamen behave in our territorial waters?" I asked Senior Lieutenant V. Katushenko.

"Many members of the 'Yorktown's' crew were on the upper deck, smiling, gesticulating, filming us with movie cameras and taking photographs. The commander of the 'Yorktown,' for instance, appeared on the bridge in dress uniform. In a word, the Americans behaved as if they were taking part in an entertainment.

"Even after a warning had been sent from the Soviet warships that they would be forced to resort to resolute actions, the Americans did not react in any way. They apparently thought that words would remain only words. Then they knew very well that it would be no easy matter to force them out. The 'Caron,' for instance, is nearly five times larger than the 'SKR-6' in terms of displacement, and the 'Yorktown' is three times bigger than the 'Bezzavetnyy.'"

"A training alarm was announced on our ship, and the command to put on life jackets was given," Captain 2d Class V. Bogdashin explained. "In pursuit of the 'Yorktown,' we were traveling at a speed of some 25 knots. At 1100 hours the distance between us and the cruiser was only a few dozen meters...."

In order to gain a fuller impression of the situation, I went up onto the captain's bridge to see where the ship's commander was at the time....

"Capt 2d Class Bogdashin was outwardly calm all the time," First Mate Capt Lt V. Kulikov told me. "The commander gave his orders firmly and resolutely. Meanwhile the distance was lessening all the time. When the collision occurred, the Americans' mood changed sharply. The arrogant smiles disappeared from their faces, and then the 'spectators' themselves went away.

"The destroyer 'Caron,' after the collision with the 'SKR-6,' also changed course and began to leave our territorial waters. It maneuvered in such a way that soon it was to port of 'Bezzavetnyy.' To starboard of 'Bezzavetnyy,' the 'Yorktown' was bearing down. Our ship was between pincers, so to speak.... But the Soviet seamen emerged from that situation with dignity too, ultimately making the Americans set course for neutral waters."

...The launch slides slowly along the starboard side of the SKR "Bezzavetnyy." In one place, broken railings and dents in the stem can be seen.

"It will take one good day's work to put it right," the senior mate concluded authoritatively. "So we will soon be back at sea."

U.S. 'Specialists' Comment

LD131110 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1002 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] New York, 13 Feb (TASS)—The U.S. naval vessels—the cruiser "Yorktown" and the destroyer "Caron," which on 12 February deliberately violated the USSR's state border, were, according to U.S. press reports, carrying out a provocative spying mission to collect data on Soviet naval bases. As THE NEW YORK TIMES reports today, quoting officials, one of the ships' tasks was to collect intelligence data. According to this newspaper, the destroyer "Caron" is a special-purpose vessel equipped with spying apparatus. The "Caron" has previously carried out intelligence operations off the coasts of Nicaragua, Libya, and Lebanon, and took part in the provocative raid by U.S. vessels off the shores of the USSR in 1986.

The U.S. authorities have undertaken clumsy attempts to justify the provocative sally off the Crimean coast. State Department representative Phyllis Oakley spoke of some kind of "legal right" of the United States to carry out such actions and described the deliberate incursion into Soviet territorial waters as being "in accord with" international law. At a special briefing, Pentagon representatives called the U.S. vessels' sally a "normal task", carried out within the framework of a special "national program."

At the same time, as the U.S. NBC television company notes, many specialists consider that the U.S. policy is deliberately provocative. The well-known military expert, Admiral Gene la Rocque, retired, stated in an interview for a CBS television program: "There is no military necessity—no intelligence or any other necessity—for making an incursion into the territorial waters of the USSR. We went there for a fight." Another specialist, Adm Eugene Carrol, retired, who at one time commanded U.S. vessels in the region of the Black Sea, called such incidents "very frightening." "This looks like a provocation, especially now when the United States and the USSR are trying to reach an understanding on questions of arms control and other problems," he stressed. In this situation, the question is not even whether the United States has the right to send its vessels into the 12-mile zone of territorial waters, Michael McGuire, expert on naval problems at the Brookings Institute said. The main question the specialist asked is whether it is sensible from the political point of view, and will we not run into trouble?

U.S. Aides Answer Questions

PM161127 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "It Was a Premeditated Intrusion"]

[Excerpt] Washington—The hail of questions which journalists hurled at the organizers of the Pentagon briefing forced them to recoil somewhat. How did U.S. ships come to be near Soviet shores, and what took them into the Black Sea at all? D. Howard, Pentagon press spokesman, and J. Flynn, a Navy Department staffer, answered questions.

[Question] Did their commanders know that they were in Soviet territorial waters?

[Answer] We are aware that the Soviet Union regards a zone extending 12 nautical miles offshore as its territorial waters.

[Question] What aims were the U.S. Navy ships pursuing?

[Answer] The implementation of a routine operation to uphold warships' rights to "innocent passage."

[Question] Who gave the order for this operation?

[Answer] The senior commander in the theater of operations, specifically—the commander of the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe, with the sanction of the central military command.

[Question] Was permission sought from the Soviet authorities?

[Answer] No.

[Question] Were any operations of an intelligence nature being carried out?

[Answer] We do not have the authority to answer that question.

[Question] Were communications established with the Soviet patrol there?

[Answer] No, but the Soviet patrol itself entered into communication with the U.S. warships on the 16th channel assigned for international communications. The transmission was as follows: "You are in Soviet territorial waters."

The Pentagon spokesmen's answers showed that what happened was the result of deliberate actions. [passage omitted]

Reagan Proclamation on Lithuania Stirs Reaction

Deputies on 'Hostile Actions'

PM161643 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Statement by Lithuanian Parliamentarians"]

[Text] Vilnius, 14 Feb—Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies have issued a statement assessing as hostile the actions by U.S. President R. Reagan, certain members of Congress, and other U.S. politicians with regard to Soviet Lithuania. Distorting historical truth, the statement says, they misinterpret the establishment of the Soviet system in Lithuania and the republic's entry into the Soviet Union, strive in every possible way to belittle the Lithuanian people's achievements in building socialism, and try to sow enmity among Soviet peoples.

In their August 1987 message to members of the U.S. Congress and in the republic's Supreme Soviet statement in November the same year, the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet deputies, the document notes, registered a resolute protest against interference by U.S. politicians in the internal affairs of Soviet Lithuania and their provocative and inflammatory activity with regard to the Lithuanian people. The republic's population supported the deputies' protest at meetings and in the press. However, there has still not been any reply from Washington. Moreover, the U.S. Congress, demonstrating its political obduracy and clearly having lost all sense of reality, adopted Resolution 39, which crudely interferes in the Lithuanian people's affairs. U.S. President R. Reagan even issued a special proclamation on this question the other day.

Lithuania's working people, the statement goes on to say, themselves created Soviet power in December 1918 and voluntarily chose the path of socialist development. It was only with the help of foreign intervention that the bourgeoisie managed to temporarily seize power in Lithuania and restore the capitalist system. The Lithuanian People's Sejm, elected in 1940 on the basis of democratic principles and with the support of broad sections of the population, restored Soviet power in Lithuania and, relying on the Constitution and carrying out the people's will, resolved the question of the republic's statehood.

We cannot fail to be amazed, the document notes, that Congress and the U.S. President should have made statements that are so hostile to the Lithuanian people.

People of goodwill worldwide are currently profoundly concerned about the maintenance of peace and the destiny of mankind. Efforts aimed at easing international tension and strengthening trust and cooperation among states and peoples are being expanded and intensified. The hostile actions undertaken by Congress and the U.S. President do not promote the strengthening of mutual understanding between peoples or the consolidation of peace, the statement stresses.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, having discussed the statement by the republic's Supreme Soviet deputies on the Congressional resolution and President Reagan's proclamation on the issue, approved the parliamentarians' protest and noted that the U.S. politicians' new political act hostile to the Lithuanian people constitutes flagrant interference in its internal affairs. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has demanded that Congress finally desist from violating the generally accepted principles of interstate relations and from trying to show the Lithuanian people the path of social development they should follow or the form of statehood and democracy they should choose.

Scholar Criticizes Statement

LD122101 Moscow TASS in English 2015 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Vilnius February 12 TASS—An outright provocation directed against the Lithuanian people—this is how Bronius Vaitkevicius, a Lithuanian scholar, described in a TASS interview the U.S. President's proclamation of February 11 in which he calls for the observance of the 70th anniversary of the establishment of a bourgeois dictatorship in Lithuania.

"This utterly irresponsible statement by the U.S. President is evidence of a monstrous distortion of true facts of history and is an insult to my people", the corresponding member of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences said.

"For us February 16, 1918 is not a date for national jubiliation, to which we are arrogantly urged from across the ocean, but a date of national betrayal", the scholar stressed. Vaitkevicius recalled that at that time the territory of Lithuania was occupied by German troops and the announcement of "Lithuania's independence" by a committee (tariba) which did not represent anyone was simply a political farce. It is thus qualified, for instance, by Encyclopaedia Americana (Volume 17, 1950) which the U.S. President should have looked up before affixing his signature to a political fabrication. It

is said in this publication that the act of February 16 was a purely nominal one because the proclamation provided for a German protectorate which reduced Lithuania to the status of a German domain, the scholar said further.

"In December 1918 the true master of the situation despite the continuing German occupation turned out to be the Lithuanian Soviet Government", Vaitkevicius, who is a historian, said. "Juozas Tumas-Vaizgantas, a classic [as received] of Lithuanian literature who was also a Catholic priest and a prominent clerical leader, wrote that 'a period of creativity set in under Soviet Government: Despite the economic dislocation caused by war universal education was introduced, national theatres, museums, libraries, publishing houses and periodical press were being created'".

"The Soviet system of government was destroyed by the bayonets of the national bourgeoisie and interventionists", Bronius Vaitkevicius stressed. "The bourgeoisie came to power after drenching the land in blood while in 1926 it went further and resorted to a fascist coup. All parties except the fascist one were disbanded and the Sejm (parliament) was dissolved. And again bullets whined: Workers, farmers, progressive intellectuals were thrown into prisons and executed. In those years Lithuania was a land of jobless, a land of paupers, a land of illiterates. Unrest among workers, farmers and soldiers was brutally suppressed. Is this the freedom that President Reagan wants to impose on the Lithuanian people almost half a century later?"

"After all these bitter experiences the Lithuanian people restored Soviet government in 1940", Vaitkevicius said. "It is precisely in the fraternal family of Soviet nations that Lithuania has become a truly flourishing sovereign Soviet republic".

News Agency Condemns 'Attack'

LD131640 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] Vilnius February 13 TASS—The Lithuanian news agency (ELTA) has issued today an announcement giving a rebuff to the malicious attacks against Soviet Lithuania contained in the proclamation of U.S. President Ronald Reagan and letters from American senators publicized by the Western press and radio.

ELTA has described these statements as crude interference in Lithuania's affairs, in her public life, as an open instigation of the population of the republic against the Soviet system.

The announcement says that the U.S. President crudely distorts in his proclamation the historical facts, the historical truth. Thus, for example, the President's proclamation dealing with the years of the bourgeois system in Lithuania claims that her government ensured political and religious freedoms for her citizens.

This, ELTA underscores, is a crude distortion of the historical truth. It is generally known that after the fascist coup of December 17, 1926, the Sejm was dissolved, and all the parties, with the exception of the Tautininks, were banned, among them the Christian Democratic Party.

This is to say nothing about the destiny of the members of the Communist Party of Lithuania in the years of the so-called "freedom". They languished in jails, were executed by firing squads and exiled.

The President urges the Americans to mark February 16—the day of the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the bourgeois dictatorship—as the day of proclamation of Lithuania's "independence." Yet from mere respect for his compatriots, ELTA says, he would be well advised to consult ENCYCLOPAEDIA AMERICANA issued in the USA, describing the act of February 16 as a purely nominal one since it provided for Germany's protectorate, that would turn Lithuania into Germany's domain.

Soviet Lithuania, the announcement emphasizes, has the genuine, uninvented date of the restoration of her statehood. That was December 16, 1918, the day when the manifesto of the provisional revolutionary government proclaiming the formation of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic was issued.

In speculating now on the alleged disorders in Soviet Lithuania, the President and senators base themselves on the "appeal" by a bunch of clergymen and extremists, ELTA says. But why wouldn't they listen to the opinion of almost 2000 thousand of Lithuania's Communists, half a million members of the Young Communist League, members of their families, thousands of people's deputies of Lithuania's village, district and city Soviets, of an overwhelming majority of her population?

Public Protest Rally Held

LD151848 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Vilnius February 15 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Rolandas Barisas:

"We have learnt with indignation that U.S. President Ronald Reagan has signed a proclamation distorting Lithuania's history, our life and our values," says a resolution adopted by the participants in a meeting of protest against U.S. interference in the internal affairs of this Soviet Baltic republic.

Thousands of people gathered on Gediminas Square where the flag of the free republic is fluttering atop an ancient tower. They carried streamers and posters reading slogans condemning the U.S. President's provocative action.

Speakers at the rally spoke with wrath and conviction about the sinister role played by U.S. special services in instigating, training and arming gangs of bourgeois nationalists in Lithuania in the post-war years.

Stasis Naujalis, a veteran of the revolution, Juozas Baltusis, a Lithuanian writer, Medardas Cobotas, a scientist, and other speakers addressed the rally.

They recalled the grim years of the fascist occupation and rule of the bourgeois regime, described what Soviet Government and development within the united family of Soviet peoples had given the republic.

Their thoughts and words were concordant with the declarations made at rallies held all over Lithuania on these days. The presidential proclamation, the Lithuanians said, insulted their national dignity.

Robertas Tarabilda, deputy chief engineer of a building materials factory, said that he knew well what kind of Lithuania Nijole Sadunaite, described by Reagan as a true leader of the people, would like to see.

"Her father owned 160 hectares of land. It's clear why she disliked the successes accomplished by Soviet Lithuania, the path of socialist development and processes of renewal currently under way in the republic."

"I remember well the 1920's and 1930's when, grossly violating the people's gains, the bourgeois nationalists killed their Lithuanian brothers," said a factory worker, Milda Bidvene. "I witnessed the murder of five innocent people. Even today, I cannot forgive the bourgeois nationalists their heinous crimes."

Vilnius University student Rengoldas Valiunas described Reagan's proclamation as an "ideological farce."

"The imperialists disregard the historical truth and try and distort the history of our people," said Professor Juozas Grigonis." This is being done with the only goal of sowing enmity among the Soviet ethnic groups."

TV Report on Demonstration

LD152201 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The working people of Lithuania angrily condemn the new hostile proclamation by U.S. President Ronald Reagan and a letter from senators in which they crudely interfere in the internal affairs of the republic. More than 15,000 white-collar and blue-collar workers and students attended a protest meeting held in Vilnius today.

[Begin recording] [Reporter A. Paylyus] To incite us inhabitants of Lithuania against the Soviet system, against the friendship of the Soviet peoples, is the aim of the new political action by statesmen in the United States. Yes, Lithuanians, as you can see, have reacted, but not at all in the way the gentlemen overseas hoped or calculated. Protest meetings have already taken place at enterprises, schools, colleges, and other institutions in Soviet Lithuania.

[Writer V.A. Radiytis, interviewed on the street] Look at the square. Why did these thousands of Vilnius inhabitants gather, Lithuanians and representatives of other nations? To express their indignation at the insult to our national feelings delivered by the U.S. chief, Reagan, in his so-called proclamation. We know the issues of our history. We are actively resolving them today. As a Lithuanian and a Communist, I protest today against such unpardonable interference in the internal affairs of my people, my republic.

[Paylyus] An end to the interference in our internal affairs, an end to the distortion of historical facts: This is the essence of the speeches of the participants in the revolutionary movement in Lithuania, (name indistinct) people's writer of the republic, (name indistinct) student and well-known sportsman, and basketball player (name indistinct) and other speakers. [video shows various speakers addressing crowd]

The Lithuanian people themselves chose the road of socialist development. We demand an end to interference in our life. [end recording]

More on 'Malicious Slanders' in State Report

LD121631 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—The U.S. State Department sent to Congress on Wednesday its annual "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1987" which, as was the case in the past years again contains malicious slanders against the socialist countries, including against the USSR.

A TASS diplomatic correspondent requested Aleksey Glukhov, first deputy head of the Directorate for Humanitarian and Cultural Issues of the USSR Foreign Ministry, to comment on the report of the U.S. State Department. "The report," he said, "produces a dual impression. On the one hand, it reluctantly admits that a drive for more democracy is under way in our country. On the other hand, hostile attacks against the Soviet Union are put to the foreground. The American representatives are not above such malicious attacks also at many international forums. This is also happening at the Vienna meeting of the states-participants in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation and at the U.N. Commission on Human Rights and other international bodies."

There is no doubt that the American officials are pursuing the quite obvious aim of scoring propaganda points, the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry said. The

other task manifests itself less patently, yet it is clear too how this report will influence the Congress at a time when it is discussing the issue of the ratification of the Soviet-American INF Treaty. The authors of the report keep to the idea that if there are some reforms in the field of openness and more democracy in the USSR, there is yet no far-reaching legislative change that would make that democratization irreversible. In so doing, they are apt to forget that only last year new rules were introduced on entry into the Soviet Union and exit from this country. A large-scale amnesty applying to thousands of people, as well as many other legislative acts in the humanitarian fields were carried out.

"Representatives of the State Department know that laws are not made in one day," Aleksey Glukhov stressed. "Serious work is under way in our country to change the criminal law in a humanitarian spirit, a new regulation is being drafted on religious associations, the rules of entry into and exit from the USSR will be further perfected. The laws are being drafted on the trade unions and on the press, and public opinion is being studied."

"The American representatives are particularly upset by the fact," the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry noted, "that direct attacks against the government and party leadership of the USSR do not work. They would very much like that a certain opposition be created in our country. This can be seen from the fact that much of the specific information contained in that report is clearly drawn from unclean sources. Thus, for example, the report gives the figure of some 400 political prisoners in the USSR. We have already reported more than once that there are literally only a few people remaining in prison under the articles of the criminal code which are considered to be political in the West.

"Obviously, the U.S. State Department again lacks simple objectivity and simple truthfulness in the evaluations."

"A new meeting is soon to be held between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. To all appearances, a discussion of humanitarian issues will be continued during that meeting. We will not evade answers to specific questions. But in our turn we will put our questions to U.S. representatives. George Shultz admitted that the discussion of human rights is a two-way traffic and we hope to get an answer to the questions, which our side put to the U.S. representatives. We, for example, turned over to the American representatives the lists of political prisoners in the USA, the lists of criminals under age sentenced to death, the lists of clergymen prosecuted for anti-war activities, etc. We hold that the U.S. side is far from the measure of openness and self-criticism demonstrated by the Soviet Union on that issue," the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry said.

Bogachev Examines Senate Opposition to INF Pact
LD131500 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0348 Feb 88

[Text] The legislative bodies of the USSR and the United States are continuing with their preliminary consideration of the INF Treaty. We have asked TASS military affairs observer Vladimir Bogachev to tell us about some major points of these discussions in the USSR and the United States:

[Bagachev] The INF Treaty has been perceived in the USSR in different ways. However, at the joint session of the foreign affirs Commission of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet, there were no nuclear disarmament opponents in any fundamental sense for the main speakers to argue against. The point for the USSR Supreme Soviet is not whether the treaty is ratified. What is involved are certain aspects of how the USSR's security can be ensured in the treaty, the measures aimed at strict observance of the treaty's provisions by both sides, and some other matters.

This is where the discussions by the Soviet legislators fundamentally differ from those in the U.S. Senate. A small but active group headed by Jesse Helms is conducting a purposeful campaign against any sort of reduction of nuclear weapons in the United States. The campaign is aimed at thwarting the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The U.S. Senate opponents—there are about 15 of them—dislike above all the fact that scrapping Pershings in the FRG will undercut the Pentagon conception of a limited nuclear war in Europe. In their fight against the ratification of the treaty, the ultra-conservative senators are banking on undermining trust in the Soviet Union. For example, Senator Helms insinuates that Soviet pictures of the Soviet missiles data do not coincide with the U.S. intelligence data.

Other fabrications, just as fantastic, are being resorted to.

The Pentagon has also had its say in the ratification of the treaty. Recently an official spokesman stated that the Soviet side considerably understated the number of SS-20 missiles when the treaty was signed. The Pentagon, therefore, claims that it can count the Soviet missiles with the range of 8,000 km with greater precision than its own nuclear systems on U.S. territory. Quite recently, in fact, the U.S. military department announced that even after the signing of the treaty, some overlooked U.S. Pershings that had not been declared in the memorandum were discovered in U.S. arms depots.

In the discussion in the Kremlin, it was stressed that the NATO plans aimed at replacing U.S. missiles by other nuclear systems are arousing legitimate public concern in various countries. This is precisely why, the Soviet legislators stated, it is now important to maintain the momentum of the disarmament process without pause

or interruption. Otherwise, events could take an undesirable turn. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is a result of the well-timed and correct coincidence of the interests of the USSR, the United States, and other countries. This treaty perfectly reflects the new thinking, whose very important rule is to take into account as much as possible other states' and peoples' interests as well as your own.

Bogachev Raps Robertson Remarks on Missiles

LD161042 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT 16 Feb 88

["New Thinking in Washington?"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

During the election campaign in New Hampshire one of the Republican candidates to the post of U.S. President, the ultra conservative preacher Pat Robertson publicly stated that Soviet nuclear intermediate-range missiles were deployed in Cuba and predicted a "new missile crisis".

Of course it is up to the Americans themselves to decide who will be the next occupant of the White House. But in this case we are dealing with problems concerning international security, concerning all. That is why Robertson's wild fantasy gives rise to a legitimate question: How is it that such an irresponsible politician could at all become a candidate for the Presidency in such a country as the United States? It is also amazing that at the recent Republican primary in Iowa Robertson got the support of a quarter of all delegates.

But there is yet another aspect to this. Only a few years ago in the United States one could usually get away with the most irresponsible inventions about the USSR's "aggressive intentions" and the "Soviet military threat". Take, for instance, the solemn assurances by high-placed officials in Washington that the USSR has an edge over the United States in virtually every military field.

Or take the statements by the former assistant to the President for national security affairs Robert McFarlane that the USSR has a ten-fold superiority over the United States in intermediate-range missiles. Only recently such statements were treated in America as being based on objective data. But they were officially refuted in Washington only in the course of the summit [words indistinct] memorandum on initial data for the INF Treaty was signed.

Now Robertson's contentions have evoked a stormy reaction in the United States, including in official circles. The White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater immediately stated that he had no evidence of a deployment of Soviet missiles in Cuba. Even Robertson's aides in the election campion rushed to soften the gist of his statement. His inventions were refuted by the Pentagon. Vice President George Bush described Robertson's contentions as a shocking attempt to scare Americans.

It would hardly be right to qualify such a reaction by U.S. officials to the irresponsible inventions of one of the candidates as a clear victory of new thinking in Washington. But this is an encouraging fact of movement in the right direction. As the Americans say, even a black cloud can have a silver lining.

U.S. Foreign Policy Goal of 'Interference' Noted

LD121643 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Washington February 12 TASS—U.S. President Reagan has confirmed afresh that the United States did not intend to abandon the course of interference in other countries' internal affairs, the course which has already plunged the United States into the "Irangate" scandal around the diversion of the funds generated from weapons sales to Iran to the Nicaraguan contras.

Speaking Thursday to the activists of U.S. conservative organisations, the President bluntly stated the administration's intention to pursue the position of strengthen policy, interfere in the affairs of other countries and peoples. He emphasized that aid to freedom fighters, as the gangs of counter-revolutionaries are called in Washington, was one of the clear goals of American foreign policy.

The statements on the commitment to aid to the contras are made despite the fact that last week the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress rejected the administration's request for authorizing 36.2 million dollars in aid to the counter-revolutionaries. Moreover, the administration, judging by press reports, is feverishly on the look out for ways to lend support to the counter-revolutionaries. Right after the voting, the President and his aides devised a new plan which provides for giving the so-called humane aid to terrorists. The respective request is planned to be sent to Congress in the next few weeks.

Concurrently, according to some reports, the White House is busy studying plans to finance the contras through foreign governments. The newspaper MIAMI HERALD reports that this is the same tactic to which Oliver North (one of the key "characters" of the "Irangate" scandal) resorted in providing aid to the contras in 1986 by skirting the congressional ban. The newspaper also quoted an eloquent statement by an anonymous administration official who said that the President intended to go ahead with assisting the contras despite everything.

Being made uneasy by such reports, the White House hurried to assure the Americans that there will be no covert aid to the contras without Congress' consent. On

Thursday, Marlin Fitzwater, assistant to the president for press relations, read out to journalists a paragraph from a confidential memorandum which was sent to all White house and National Security Council officials. This memorandum lays down the President's instruction that administration officials should not give support to or encourage any private persons or third parties to raising funds for the Nicaraguan contras.

Observers have assessed sceptically, however, the effectiveness of this instruction, especially if one takes into account the commitment to the contras' backing, which is demonstrated by the President and his closest entourage.

The same situation has formed now which preceded the launching of the covert operation to provide aid to the contras in circumvention of the congressional ban: Lawmakers reject new millions of dollars to the bandits and the White House states that it will not leave its mercenaries to the mercy of fate. Four years ago, the administration, as the report by special congressional commissions which investigated the "Irangate" pointed out, moved to deceive the lawmakers and got around their ban.

Noting this crisis of confidence in relations between Congress and the White House, the authors of the report stated that Congress could not perform the functions vested in it under the law if it was not informed on the grounds that representatives of the executive branch were inclined to put more trust in the gang of international arms merchants and financial dealers, announcing in the process that Congress did not deserve trust.

In conditions of such a crisis of confidence, the anxiety of a whole number of lawmakers over the administration's position on further aid to the contras is quite understandable.

Reagan Devotes Radio Address to Mexico Visit

LD131922 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] Washington February 13 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan has devoted his regular Saturday radio address to the meeting with President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico. Reagan's speech was taped in advance and was broadcast over the radio when he was already enroute to the Mexican city of Mazatlan where talks are to be held between the two leaders.

According to the U.S. President, it is planned to discuss during the meeting a wide range of issues, among them the situation in Central America, economic relations and the problem of narcotics fight. In his speech the President tried to portray matters in the way as though serious disagreements on the majority of bilateral and international problems did not exist between the United States and Mexico.

However, even his closest aides admit that the most apparent outcome of the talks will be agreement to disagree in the approach of the United States and Mexico to the development of economic cooperation and also in appraising the situation in Central America and, first and foremost, on the issue of aid to the contras.

U.S. Ambassador Views 30th Year of Accord

LD152317 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Feb 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Dmitriy Biryukov]

[Text] Now you will see a short interview concerning an important milestone in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations: the 30th anniversary of the signing of the first Soviet-U.S. agreement in the field of culture, science and education. The interview with Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, was conducted by our correspondent Sergey Rybin:

[Begin video recording of Matlock speaking in Russian] In my opinion, this anniversary is a very important anniversary, because we are marking the 30th anniversary of the first agreement on exchanges. I think that exchanges between our countries, exchanges between the publics, exchanges in the broadest sense, play a very important role. They play an important role in the sense that these exchanges create a foundation for greater trust between us. Of course, a shortage of trust lies at the foundation of many difficulties. If we are to be able in the future to eliminate these difficulties, I think we need to know each other better, and that is the aim of exchanges.

[Rybin] How do you see the future of Soviet-U.S. relations in the cultural sphere?

[Matlock] Well, I think that the prospects are very good. Of course, the possibilities are virtually unlimited. But of course, we do have experience, quite considerable experience, on the basis of the experience of 30 years. But it seems to me that we should not restrict ourselves just to what we have done in the past; we must also seek other fields, other forms, and, mainly, we must expand the concept of exchanges.

[Rybin] This question: What, perhaps, does Soviet culture mean for you personally?

[Matlock] Well, of course, for me personally, Soviet culture, and Russian culture, play a very big role, because as a student I started my study of Russian literature. Russian literature, in particular, has for a long time played a very important role in my personal life. [end recording]

Shevardnadze, Matlock Discuss Upcoming Talks

LD161534 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, today received United States Ambassador to the USSR Jack Matlock at the latter's request.

Some regional problems, as well as questions connected with the preparation for the coming Soviet-American talks at foreign ministers' level were discussed during the conversation.

U.S. Reactions to Afghan Pullout Plan Differ

PM161211 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch under general heading "Afghanistan: Let Common Sense Gain the Upper Hand. At the Focus of World Public Attention"]

[Text] New York—M.S. Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan remains one of the most discussed topics in the U.S. news media. It is possible to claim that to date, two approaches have emerged to the decision announced by the Soviet Government.

The first reflects the "guarded" optimism expressed by the Washington authorities as the official reaction to the Soviet leader's statement. "We must listen to the fact that the Russians are saying 'yes' on Afghanistan," THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, summing up the views of that section of U.S. political circles.

However, side by side, there exists also another "die-hard" view as to what the U.S. reponse to the plan for a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan put forward by the Soviet Union should be. As is generally known, the United States at one time declared officially that U.S. aid to the dushmans would end 60 days after the elaboration of a relevant accord between the interested parties.

The U.S. right wing is now claiming that the President allegedly knew nothing about this formulation of the question and that the official position had allegedly not been agreed upon with him.

Therefore, the opponents of an early peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem are saying here now, it is necessary to renounce this "erroneously declared" position. At the same time, it is proposed that U.S. aid to the dushmans will end only after the pullout of Soviet forces.

Well, attempts to change the rules of the gam game is in progress are fully in keeping with th certain U.S. political circles. Some people g ther, putting forward utterly brazen ultimatu nature of the future internal political setup i stan.

This indicates that certain U.S. politicians are against an end to the war in Afghanistan, lasted for many years. They much prefer mo ocritically about the need to settle regional c the world to making a real contribution to swi one of them.

Northeast Asia

KCNA Refutes KAL Incident Allegations

LD160818 Moscow TASS in English 0738 GM 16 Feb 88

[Text] Pyongyang February 16 TASS—The D strongly refuted Seoul's and Tokyo's fabricati Pyongyang's alleged complicity in the abd Japan of a woman named Eun Hae for tra so-called "agents of the north", stresses the a ment issued by KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS on Monday here.

It is claimed in South Korea and Japan, the age that Eun Hae had allegedly trained Mayumi, passenger of the South Korean airliner, whi peared last November. Mayumi is charged by S complicity in that incident.

The DPRK has enough people with a good co the Japanese language, among them many r from Japan. Therefore the story issued by Korean authorities about the alleged "a sounds ridiculous.

Reports about Eun Hae issued in South Korea a contain reference to the so-called "testimony" Mayumi. All these inventions are used by mislead international public, the agency said.

Criticizes ROK's UN 'Intrigues'

LD160956 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GM 16 Feb 88

[Text] Pyongyang February 16 TASS—The agency pointed out on Monday that by introd question on the disappearance of the South plane for consideration of the U.N. Security with the support of U.S. and Japanese reaction ters, South Korea wanted to convince the inte community that People's Korea was allegedly a plice in the accident. Seoul seeks, thereby, to t tasks: Firstly, to discredit People's Korea in th tional arena and, secondly, to whitewash the u South Korean regime in the eye of the inte community.

It is not by chance that several Security Council member countries are against consideration of this question. In the past, the report says, Washington already used the U.N. for "committing an aggression in Korea". In this connection KCNA expresses confidence that the international community will resolutely rebuff the intrigues of the Seoul regime and its backers.

Protests Airline Statement

LD152120 Moscow TASS in English 2029 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Pyongyang February 15 TASS—The KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY has described the recent statement by the International Federation of Air Line Pilots Associations (IFALPA) as an unjust move discrediting the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The federation named the DPRK among countries committing crimes against civil aviation. Besides, the international Aeronautical Federation in Paris accused the country of terrorism.

"Such actions are undertaken with a view to backing up the 'results of the investigation' into the incident with a South Korean plane in November 1987, fabricated by Seoul," the news agency said in a commentary issued here today.

"International federations should heed the voice of the progressive public demanding a repeal of the unjust moves against the republic," it said.

ROK Opposition Parties Decide To Merge

LD142030 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 14 Feb 88

[Text] Tokyo February 14 TASS—TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin reports:

The two main opposition forces of South Korea—the Reunification Democratic Party and the Party of Peace and Democracy—today reached an agreement in principle on full organisational merging.

They will set up a uniform committee shortly within whose framework they will decide the issue of the new unified party's programme and name. It is supposed that it will involve all of South Korea's main opposition forces coming out for broad democratic transformations, for releasing all political detainees, putting an end to reprisals and military men's participation in the political life.

According to available information, on Monday, the deputies of the National Assembly from both parties will hold a joint meeting to elaborate a common programme of action during the upcoming parliamentary elections.

The democratically-minded quarters of South Korea have been demanding for a long time now the creation of a single opposition party. In the opinion of the majority of observers, it was exactly the split among the opponents of the ruling pro-American regime that hampered them to win the general presidential elections held in December, 1987.

ROK Lifts Ban on Student Political Activity

LD121215 Moscow TASS in English 1158 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Tokyo February 12 TASS—The South Korean authorities have agreed, yielding to public pressure of many years, to lift a ban on student political activities.

The decision was officially approved by the council of the top leadership of state universities at its meeting in Chongju, KYODO TSUSHIN news agency has reported.

Yet regulations of educational institutions will preserve a provision banning "activities interfering with the studies and research work".

Student organisations are still not allowed to "maintain contacts with certain political organisations".

These reservations leave loop-holes for repressive actions against the organised youth movement which has always been in the vanguard of protests against the pro-American regime.

Vietnamese Support for DPRK Proposals Cited

PM101247 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Feb 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "The Press Attests": "Following a Course of Good Will"]

[Text] Hanoi, 3 Feb—The DPRK's new constructive initiatives and proposals to refrain from holding large-scale military exercises this year and to begin bilateral talks on disarmament are helping to broaden the dialogue on the Korean peninsula. The newspaper NHAN DAN, organ of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, writes of this in an editorial commentary today. The proposals are a further manifestation of the DPRK's consistent course, full of good will, aimed at the country's peaceful unification and according with the aspirations of the entire Korean people. In response to this, however, Washington and Seoul have unleashed a broad propaganda campaign directed against the DPRK and have also announced the holding of the "Team Spirit-88" maneuvers with the participation of tens of thousands of servicemen. These hostile actions of a premeditated nature not only do not help to normalize the situation in the peninsula but, on the contrary, increase tension.

Together with the peace-loving forces of the Asian continent the Vietnamese people fully support the DPRK's constructive new proposals, NHAN DAN emphasizes in conclusion.

U.S. Maintains, Escalates Korean Tension

PM111149 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[A. Golts "Military-Political Commentary": "Iceberg of Militarism"]

[Text] In a chapter in the recently published book "American Lake. Nuclear Threat Over the Pacific" U.S. political scientists described how, in their opinion, a major military conflict could start in Asia. It is significant that they consider the Korean peninsula the place where it will arise. We will not argue over how far such scenarios "stem" from reality. But the book's authors are undoubtedly right in one respect. The situation on the peninsula still remains very, very tense, and not even the general thaw in international relations has affected it.

A monstrous militarist iceberg has been preserved in the south of Korea since the "cold war" times. In addition to the more than 600,000-strong South Korean Army, more than 40,000 U.S. servicemen are stationed there. They are equipped with the most modern weapons, including hundreds of units of nuclear ammunition.

Washington is doing everything possible to preserve this iceberg of militarism for long years to come. Thus, according to a report by representatives of the U.S. military department, the south of the peninsula will soon be embraced once again by the annual militarist fever by the name of "Team Spirit." Approximately 60,000 U.S. servicemen and 140,000 soldiers and officers of the Seoul Army will participate in these U.S.-South Korean military rehearsals. Some U.S. Army units will be transferred from Japan, the Hawaiian Islands, and California. A powerful U.S. Navy aircraft carrier grouping will approach the shores of South Korea. An attack on the DPRK will once again be rehearsed over several weeks.

But not even these war games—which, incidentally, are the largest that the Pentagon holds in the Asia-Pacific region—are enough for U.S. strategists. According to AP, a major show of strength is also planned for the fall. Large-scale U.S. naval maneuvers will be held off the Korean coast from the second half of September through the beginning of October. One or two aircraft carriers and up to a dozen other warships will participate in them. At the same time, combat aircraft will be transferred to the south of the peninsula from Japanese territory.

As we can see, U.S. strategists are consistently fueling military tension in Korea by preparing to deploy large-scale combat actions. This is also confirmed by Japanese press reports that the Pentagon is creating arms dumps in South Korea which are to be used in the event of a conflict on the peninsula.

Statements by high-ranking U.S. military personnel, who claim that the DPRK is a "factor of instability in the region," appear hypocritical, to say the least, against the background of these sinister actions.

The facts attest to the opposite. The DPRK not only consistently pursues a policy aimed at easing tension; it backs up this policy with specific actions. I will remind you that Pyongyang has not only proposed decisively reducing the troops of the North and the South and thereby lessening military confrontation. Wishing to set a good example, the DPRK has unilaterally undertaken to reduce the strength of its armed forces by 100,000 servicemen.

No, the DPRK is not interested in continuing the confrontation. The only people interested in this are those who are trying, for narrow mercenary purposes, to preserve the militarist iceberg on the Asian Continent.

Japanese-U.S. Exercises Held on Hokkaido

LD121312 Moscow TASS in English 1247 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Tokyo February 12 TASS—Testing the ability of U.S. and Japanese troops to work smoothly together in harsh winter conditions is the goal of the Japanese-U.S. military exercises which began today in the Japanese Hokkaido Island which is the northernmost and nearest to Soviet territory. The exercises involve some 200 servicemen from the fifth division of the Japanese land forces deployed in Obihiro and 300 U.S. officers and men who were moved from the Hawaiian Islands.

During the two-week exercises they will practice mortar shooting and breaking in two groups will conduct combat operations against "enemy skiers".

The regular military games in Hokkaido were preceded by the large-scale staff exercises code-named "Yamasakura-13" involving more than 3,000 Japanese and U.S. servicemen.

Plan for U.S. Reinforcements to Japan Viewed

OW141101 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] As earlier reported, at the meeting of the Japanese and U.S. defense chiefs it was agreed to launch shortly a joint study to ensure smooth U.S. military reinforcements to Japan in the event of an emergency. In this connection, Radio Moscow military commentator Kalinin writes:

The question of sending U.S. military reinforcements to Japan in case of an emergency essentially involves a study of the possibility of dispatching additional U.S. troops to Japan. This question is linked directly to that of stockpiling arms, ammunition, fuels, and other equipment in advance in Japan. YOMIURI SHIMBUN says that the forthcoming joint talks on this issue will mark a new phase in defense cooperation between Japan and the United States.

The question of introducing additional U.S. forces to Japan is not new. The organization of the U.S. forces in Japan presupposes the arrival of rescue forces from outside Japan. For example, the IX Corps represents the U.S. Army in Japan, but it actually has only its headquarters in Japan and no combat troops stationed there. According to its table of organization, the IX Army Corps is supposed to have two to five divisions under its control. Thus, the corps anticipates mobilization of several divisions from the U.S. mainland.

In the past the 25th Division in Hawaii and 9th Division on the West Coast of the United States have moved to Japan as reinforcements in various joint military exercises. In addition, it has been a longstanding problem to construct forward logistic facilities in Japan to stockpile U.S. weapons and other equipment.

In 1985, a top Japanese Foreign Ministry official, in his answer at a Diet session, admitted that the Unites States had started building facilities to store strategic supplies at the Sagami General Depot. The U.S. side has been considering the building of similar facilities in Hokkaido.

It should also be pointed out that the U.S. Army Pacific Command was set up last year. U.S. Army troops deployed in Hawaii and the U.S. Army Command in Japan were placed under its control. This actually means that a command similar to the U.S. Army Command in Europe has been created in the Pacific.

Incidentally, the Pentagon (the U.S. Department of Defense) has been implementing the so-called double disposition division [daburu haibi shidan] concept in Europe for the first time. For U.S. divisions intended for overseas deployment, this concept calls for prepositioning weapons and other frontline equipment in two locations—one, at a place inside the U.S. mainland where the division is stationed and the other, at a place overseas where the division is to be deployed. In every respect, this concept is likely to be applied to Japan as well within the framework of the U.S. Army Pacific Command. For this reason, it was probably no accident that Defense Agency Director General Kawara proposed a joint study on U.S. military reinforcements to Japan and on building forward logistic facilities in Japan when he stopped by the U.S. Forces Pacific Command Headquarters in Hawaii and later in his talks in Washington. It was also no accident that these negotiations were conducted just when the Yamazakura-13 joint military exercise was in progress in Hokkaido. Thus, the issue of sending U.S. reinforcements to Japan in case of an emergency has not surfaced all of a sudden. The problem is that the plan is already being put into practice. We cannot avoid having misgivings about this development.

The treaty on a total abolition of intermediate-range nuclear forces has already been signed and significant progress is being made toward a sweeping reduction of strategic weapons. The issue of reducing troops and conventional weapons is now on the agenda. Under these circumstances, the study of possible U.S. military reinforcements to Japan in case of an emergency runs counter to the process of stabilizing the international situation.

CPSU Greets Japan Socialist Party Congress

PM111657 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings to 53d Japanese Socialist Party Congress]

[Text] To the 53d Japanese Socialist Party [JSP] Congress

The CPSU Central Committee greets delegates to the 53d JSP Congress.

Your congress is taking place in a situation where peoples all over the world are faced with a task of historic importance—to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and preserve and strengthen peace. There can be no passive observers in the solution of this global task. It can only be solved through the united action of all peace-loving forces in the world.

For its part, guided by the new political thinking, the Soviet Union is doing everything necessary to set international relations on a basis of mutual understanding and cooperation and eliminate nuclear weapons by the beginning of the 21st century. The Soviet Union is well aware of Japanese Socialist action against the revival of Japanese militarism, in defense of the country's peacetime Constitution, and for the preservation of its nonnuclear status, and hopes that the JSP will make its own worthy contribution to building a nuclear-free world.

We wish Japanese Socialists success in their struggle for the interests of the working people and Japan's development along a path of peace, democracy, and social progress. We express the hope that the traditional ties between the CPSU and the JSP will contribute to establishing lasting peace in the Asia-Pacific region and deepening cooperation and good-neighborliness between the Soviet and Japanese peoples.

CPSU Central Committee

USSR-Japan Sports Joint Venture Signed

OW142340 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] A substantive contract was signed in Moscow on 11 February concerning (Radoga) Sport, the first USSR-Japan joint venture in sports. It was signed by the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports and (Radoga), a Japanese company. The contract calls for the construction and the start of operations in the period of next 2 years of a yacht center in Nakhodka, a (?youth sports) center in Lake Baykal, an alpine ski complex in Krasnaya Polyana in the Caucasus, and a club for the game of "go" in Moscow.

Following is an interview with Hajime Sawatari, Japanese president of the joint venture, and (Zhukov), president of Sovintersport [Soviet International Sport].

[Begin recording] [Sawatari] Approximately, we are into the 6th month since we started talks on the specifics of the type of joint venture to be set up. In setting up the joint venture, I was primarily motivated by a desire for specific economic exchanges [words indistinct]. I spoke of this desire in conversation with a certain person. When the Soviet joint venture law was announced last year, I confirmed that it is a very good law, then began making specific proposals.

At the same time, the Soviet side — that is, the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports and Sovintersport — took very positive action, demonstrating its desire for strengthening relations with foreign countries in a specific manner. It was like a game involving fast moves, with the ball rapidly changing hands between the Japanese and Soviet sides.

[Reporter] What is the ratio of investment?

[Sawatari] The Soviet-Japanese ratio is 51 percent to 49 percent. We will make our remittance as soon as we obtain the approval of the Japanese Ministry of Finance. The remittance will be made in three installments, totalling approximately 570 million Japanese yen. We accept the prerequisite that we will not take our share of profits home to Japan for the first 10 years, although it might look a bit crazy when put in the light of economic common sense. The dividends due us will be spent on various projects undertaken by this [word indistinct] in the USSR, because our firm and myself have enough funds in Japan for food and to enjoy things, including yachting. [end recording]

Sovintersport President (Zhukov), adding to what Sawatari said, had this to say:

[Begin recording, in Russian fading immediately into announcer-read Japanese translation] The purpose of this sports venture is to expand services for Soviet sportsmen in specified places and, needless to say, draw the maximum number of foreign tourists and offer them sports services. Tourists and sportsmen from Japan will probably top the list. We are, of course, ready to serve tourists from other countries, too.

In addition, the signing of the contract will have the effect of diminishing skepticism among major Western businesses over setting up joint ventures with the Soviet Union. The contract signed today demonstrates that such ventures can be set up and need to be set up, and that the Soviet joint venture law is a reasonable statute and is in the interests of both sides involved. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Reporter] In what order will the sports facilities be built?

[Sawatari] This year we will do the basic design work for the sports centers in Nakhodka, [word indistinct], and Lake Baykal. Then we will do things like purchase equipment and materials. Construction of facilities the Maritime Province and Lake Baykal will begin in the spring next year.

[Reporter] Who will be in charge of the construction, the Japanese or the Soviets?

[Sawatari] As for buildings and various other planned facilities, they will be, in short, of higher quality than the present levels in the Soviet Union. They will amaze people who look at them, we are planning to make them so impressively perfect. To that end, we believe that orders should be placed with firms capable of manufacturing goods of highest possible quality at the lowest possible cost. Therefore, we don't feel that orders should be placed only with Japanese firms, nor that this would be the right thing to do. Needless to say, Japanese technology will take part in the projects along with Soviet construction companies. However, we are going to limit the Japanese participation to the technology area by all means. By bringing together the construction technologies of the Soviet Union, Japan, and other countries in the construction of those sports facilities, we will be able to help the Soviets improve their construction standards in the sports facilities area. This is our desire. That is the way we want to see the construction carried out.

[Reporter] Can all the construction projects be completed in such a short period?

[Sawatari] Japan and the Soviet Union are different, and the way the Japanese side is thinking may be wrong, but I think that construction projects in the Soviet Union take too long. Buildings of the size of the projected five halls would normally take an average of about 8 months — not a year — to be completed in Japan. Therefore, we are planning to complete the five halls in a year or so and all other facilities in a year if this is at all possible. I believe we can do it if we import the necessary technologies from countries around the world. Inasmuch as our joint venture is within the sphere of economic activity,

we can ask for bids and choose firms through competition to give us the highest-quality job at the lowest cost. This way we will be fair in placing our orders.

[Reporter] Where do you stand on the plans to build sports equipment and sportswear plants?

[Sawatari] Regarding the sports equipment production plan, nothing at all has been done yet. However, the primary purpose of this corporation is to serve the sports interests of the Soviet people in general, so it will of course be producing various sporting goods if it becomes necessary in the future. Since I am a yachtsman, I think that it would be nice if I could sell yachts in the USSR on a private basis. It may sound lik a private hobby plan, but that is my hope.

[Reporter] You have toured various sports facilities in the USSR. What is your impression?

[Sawatari] First of all, I keenly felt that the Soviet Union is a big country. I felt myself like a tiny flea jumping around on an elephant of enormous size. There is an expression among [word indistinct] Western — Japanese, rather — businessmen: The Soviet Union is like an elephant asleep: It should be left asleep.

However, my impression after visiting various places is that the enormous elephant has gotten up and is moving around. Some time ago, when I began learning about the USSR, I made a variety of proposals to ministries and agencies and in the Maritime Province, only to face a very thick wall and make no headway at all. I experienced none of the feelings that I would normally feel in sports games. Since last year or so, however, I have known that the ball I hit reaches the other side of the court and is returned promptly. Thus, with the ball traveling back and forth, I have been able to conduct my negotiations in a pleasant manner, as if playing a game. Frankly, my impression is that the Soviet Union has changed greatly. [end recording]

Tokyo 'Obscenity' Belies Neighborly Assurances

PM121121 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 3

["On The Spot Report" by own correspondent S. Agafonov: "Applause in the Auditorium, Uproar in the Street"]

[Text] Sunday in Japan saw the latest so-called "Northern Territories Day," an anti-Soviet event sanctioned by the authorities and held to aid territorial claims on the USSR.

It has been a regular event since 1981. The scenario for the strident events has been established over the eight years and it could be said to consist of two parts: an orderly rally attended by members of the cabinet and of the leadership of the ruling party in a big hall in the capital, on the one hand, and hooligan escapades by thugs from ultrarightist organizations in the streets of Tokyo, on the other.

This year was no exception. The public meeting took place in the "Kudan Kaikan" hall. Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita, Foreign Minister Uno, other ministers, and parliamemntary deputies graced it with their presence. The speeches at the meeting contained nothing new, just the usual set of demands addressed to the USSR and calls for the return of "primordial lands"—the islands of Iturup, Habomai, Shikotan, and Kunashir.

The atmosphere was somewhat different in the street. Columns of thugs with cropped hair began to form early in the morning in Hibiya Park, driving buses and cars daubed with anti-Soviet slogans, plastered with posters and equipped with powerful loudspeakers. By midday, the mob, voices hoarse from hurling abuse, disgorged into the capital's thoroughfares and set out for the area where the Soviet embassy is located. Despite the reinforced police cordons and the multitude of plainclothes security services personnel the street hooligans took over one of Tokyo's central districts for several hours. Today, on top of the verbal obscenities, there was abuse of the Soviet national flag.

The uproar in the Tokyo streets has given rise to many questions and to demands for direct and effective measures rather than evasive excuses. For example, how does all this square with international agreements on creating favorable conditions for embassies to operate in? How is it to be regarded in the light of Japanese laws (pretty tough ones incidentally), on street demonstrations?

On hearing a torrent of abuse in broken Russian against our country and a demand for all "Soviets" to get out of Japan for good, I confess that there came into my head a picture of that quiet corner of Moscow, near the Nikitskiye Gates, where the Japanese embassy is located. What would Tokyo's reaction be if a mere fraction of what we witnessed today were to occur there?

Furthermore, although official circles are seeking outwardly to dissociate themselves from the actions of extremist oprganizations, the reality is such that the applause in the "Kudan Kaikan" and the obscenity on the Tokyo streets complement one another, and this general anti-Soviet spectacle is too far removed from official assurances of a desire for good-neighborliness.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

SRV Supports Laos' Moves on Thai Conflict

LD141425 Moscow TASS in English 1354 GMT 14 Feb 88

[Text] Hanoi February 14 Tass—The government of Vietnam has issued a statement in support of the constructive and realistic initiatives of Laos which are aimed at settling the border conflict with Thailand through talks.

"The proposals", the statement points out, "vividly embody the peaceful policy and good will of Laos and its high responsibility in the cause of upholding the traditional friendship between and legitimate interests of the peoples of Laos and Thailand".

"The Vietnamese Government believes that a settlement of the conflict at the earliest date will serve the interests of peace in South East Asia", the statement says.

Indonesia's Mokhtar Addresses Jakarta Conference

LD111947 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Jakarta February 11 TASS—Signing an agreement to ban all testing of nuclear weapons has remained a priority for mankind for more than three decades, Indonesian Foreign Minister Kusumaatmaja Mokhtar has said at a session of the Conference on Disarmament here.

He added in his statement there, which was published by the JAKARTA POST, that the discussion of the issue, however, had been moving too slowly.

Pointing to positive processes in the issue of arms control and verification, Kusumaatmaja noted at the same time that scientific and technological advances were still being used contrary to humanity's interests.

Attempts to militarize outer space were continuing, he said, adding that they would inevitably escalate the arms race, lead to greater vulnerability and aggravate the world economic crisis.

Until the major world powers began strictly abiding by already existing restrictions and refrain from developing, testing and deploying space-based weapons, the risk of space becoming a battleground would keep growing, the Indonesian foreign minister said.

He called for reinforcing the ABM Treaty with restrictions on the use of new technical discoveries and for banning anti-satellite weapons. Space activities should be exclusively peaceful, Kusumaatmaja said.

Speaking of southeast Asia, he recalled that at the recent ASEAN summit in Manila its participants had pledged to step up efforts to realize the idea of creating a zone of peace and neutrality free from nuclear weapns there as soon as possible.

Kusumaatmaja said they were confident that that would facilitate the relaxation of regional tension and help achieve stability needed for economic and social development.

Near East & South Asia

Indian, Pakistani Forces Exchange Fire

LD130527 Moscow TASS in English 0532 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] New Delhi February 13 TASS—An Indian civilian was killed as a result of unprovoked firing by Pakistani troops on a picket of Indian border guards not far from one of villages in Punch District, Jammu and Kashmir.

The UNI news agency reports that the Indian border guards had to return the fire. The exchange of fire continued for about six hours.

Further on India's Pant USSR Tour

Leaves for Ukraine

PM151057 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "On a Tour of the Country"]

[Text] On 11 February Krishna Chandra Pant, defense minister of the Republic of India, who is on an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union, left Moscow on a tour of the country.

At Sheremetyevo Airport the guest from India was seen off by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, USSR deputy defense minister; Colonel General V.N. Lobov, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff; and generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The send-off party included T.N. Kaul, Indian ambassador to the USSR.

The Indian defense minister is being accompanied on his tour of the country by Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, USSR deputy defense minister.

The state flags of the Republic of India and the Soviet Union had been hoisted at the airport, an honor guard was drawn up on the airfield, and the two countries' state anthems were played.

K.C Pant received the report from the chief of the honor guard and inspected the Soviet servicemen.

Krishna Chandra Pant, defense minister of the Republic of India, arrived in Sevastopol 11 February.

The guest and those accompanying him were met by Admiral M.N. Khronopulo, commander of the Black Sea Fleet; Vice Admiral V.P. Nekrasov, member of the

Military Council and chief of the Fleet Political Directorate; A.P. Smolyannikov, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Gorkom; and other officials.

K.C. Pant laid flowers at the Glory Obelisk on Mount Sapun, viewed the diorama "The Storming of Mount Sapun 7 May 1944," visited a modern warship, and familiarized himself with the city sights.

Adm M.N. Khronopulo gave a dinner in honor of the Indian defense minister.

K.C. Pant left Sevastopol the same day.

Visits Tbilisi

PM161033 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Lieutenant Colonel N. Mulyar report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] On 11 February Krishna Chandra Pant, Indian defense minister, who is in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit, arrived in Tbilisi.

The visitor and his party were met at the airport by Z.A. Labakhuz, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers; Colonel General D.A. Grinkevich, chief of the Main Staff and first deputy commander in chief of Ground Forces; Colonel General K.A. Kochetov, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District; and other generals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The following day K.C. Pant called on O.Ye. Cherkeziya, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, visited the district study center for the training of specialists, and toured its training and material base. The visitor from India saw the sights of Tbilisi.

Col Gen K.A. Kochetov, commander of the district troops, gave a luncheon in honor of the Indian defense minister.

Arrives in Tashkent

PM161037 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Colonel V. Astafyev report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Krishna Chandra Pant, defense minister of the Republic of India, who is in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit, arrived in Tashkent 13 February.

The guest from India was met at the airport by Colonel General N.I. Popov, commander of the Turkestan Military District; Lieutenant General G.A. Stefanovskiy, member of the Military Council and chief of the District Political Directorate; and other officials.

K.C. Pant is being accompanied on his tour by Colonel General D.A. Grinkevich, chief of the Main Staff and first deputy commander in chief of Ground Forces.

Ends USSR Visit

LD150720 Moscow TASS in English 0715 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Tashkent February 15 TASS—Today Indian Defence Minister Krishna Chandra Pant, who was in the USSR on an official friendly visit, departed from the capital of Uzbekistan (a Soviet Central Asian republic) for India. At the airport the guest was seen off by Colonel General Nikolay Popov, commander of the forces of the Turkestan military area, and other Soviet military leaders.

Pakistan's Noorani on Afghanistan Issues

On Return of Refugees

LD151844 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT 15 Feb 88

["Road to Afghan Settlement—Who Obstructs It?"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—Tass political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

Western news agencies report on an interview that Pakistan's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani gave to a BBC correspondent. Noorani said that in Pakistan's opinion the creation of favourable conditions for the return of the Afghan refugees home should be the "key provision" of the Geneva agreement. And Noorani asserted that such conditions cannot be created without the "alteration of the regime in Kabul".

These are strange postulates, indeed. Over many years Islamabad tried to convince everyone that the problem of refugees arose when a limited contingent of Soviet troops had entered Afghanistan. Now the Soviet Union which advanced a programme of prompt equitable political solution to the conflict proposes to start the withdrawal of these troops from the Afghan territory within the time frame acceptable for all, from May 15, provided the agreement on the settlement is signed in Geneva not later than March 15, since the withdrawal of Soviet troops is to be started, the very cause of the emergence of refugees problem should no longer exist for Islamabad. For if there is no cause, then there is no effect, and the refugees staying in Pakistan can return home, unless the Pakistani authorities put obstacles to this, the way they have been doing so far. It is also well known that despite numerous artificially created obstacles, thousands of Afghans, supporting Kabul's course of national reconciliation, of putting an end to bloodshed, are returning home now. So what additional "conditions" allegedly needed for the solution of "refugee problem" do they talk in Islamabad about?

It follows from Noorani's statement that "a change of the regime" in Kabul is such a condition. In other words, Islamabad and those who are behind it would like to make the solution of one of internal aspects of the Afghan problem conditional upon the creation of a new Afghan government. Moreover, Noorani stated that Pakistan and the Soviet Union should exert an influence on the Afghans "from two sides" so that "alterations in the regime" be made prior to the fulfilment of the Geneva agreements. But it is absolutely obvious, and Mr. Noorani actually admitted this in his interview, that the forming of a government is an entirely domestic Afghan question, for Afghans themselves to decide, even if they belong to different, and even opposing camps. Then why is it that he declares that an influence be brought on a sovereign country from "both sides"?

Pakistan is expected to take the necessary step so that the Geneva accords go into effect. To give up the concluding the Geneva process now would be tantamount to disrupting the entire Afghan settlement. And this could have unpredictable consequences.

'Practicable' Steps Needed

LD161236 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] Islamabad February 16 TASS—Zain Noorani, Pakistani minister of state for foreign affairs, left Islamabad for Washington in the evening on Monday. After departure he told a correspondent of the Pakistani news agency APP that after Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan and the visit of Yuriy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister to Islamabad, the visit to the region by Diego Cordovez, personal envoy of the U.N. secretary general, a powerful impulse had been given to Afghan settlement.

The minister of state pointed out that a stage had been reached in whose course immediate practical steps should be taken to reach agreement that would be not one on paper, but would be viable and practicable, would lead both to the return of the Soviet troops home from Afghanistan, and the return of the Afghan refugees home. To that end, Noorani noted, the Pakistani Government is planning "very close" consultations and talks with its friends.

As is known, in his statement on Afghanistan Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, pointed out that the political aspect of the matter is that the return of the Soviet troops home is naturally linked with preventing interference in that country's home affairs.

Asked about the formation of a coalition government in Afghanistan, the minister of state said that he had been told about certain progress in that direction. We have always believed that the question of the future government should be decided by the Afghan people themselves, he said.

Zain Noorani will start by his visit to the USA a tour of the capitals of states "friendly" to Pakistan to hold consultations with their leaders on the eve of the new round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva with U.N. mediation. The tour will take him to Britain, then China and Saudi Arabia. En route to the Geneva talks Noorani is also planning to visit Belgium.

Afghan Envoy Interviewed on Developments

PM151611 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Baykov interview with Mohammadollah Safi, Afghan ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union, under the general heading: "Afghanistan: Unique Opportunity" and the rubric "Our Interviews"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Baykov] What is your opinion, esteemed ambassador, of the statements by M.S. Gorbachev and your President Najibullah concerning Afghanistan?

[Safi] The statements by M.S. Gorbachev and Najibullah, the president of our Republic, both of which were published 8 February, are evidence of our countries' sincere interest in settling the situation around Afghanistan as soon as possible. The stand taken by the Soviet and Afghan leadership opens up potential for the successful conclusion to the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva and, in the long term, for a solution to the "Afghan problem" as a whole. We hope that, assessing the constructive approach taken by the USSR and Afghanistan, the Pakistani side will also display good will and flexibility. This unique opportunity must not be lost.

[Baykov] What have you to say in this connection about the position of the antigovernment groups—the so-called "Alliance of Seven"—that have established themselves in Pakistan?

[Safi] The "Alliance of Seven" has no reason to continue the war. Previously they accused the government of the republic of endangering religion in Afghanistan and claimed that Soviet troops supposedly intended to remain in the country forever. Now the whole world is well aware that Islam has the respect and concern of our state and that its position is stronger than ever before. With regard to the Soviet troops which came to Afghanistan at our government's request to defend the Afghan people, having now fulfilled their international duty, they are returning home. I think that the most sensible course of action for the "alliance" to take would be to actively join in the national reconciliation process.

[Baykov] The national reconciliation policy which the Afghan Government has pursued for more than a year now not only intends a dialogue with opposition forces but also the readiness to share power with them, is that not so?

[Safi] Yes, as part of the national reconciliation policy, our country's government has offered the opposition more than 20 important state posts, including those of vice president and deputy prime minister. At the local level, more than 65 percent of the posts in local organs of power are not held by representatives of our party but by prominent representatives of the opposition, the clergy, and various strata of society. Four provinces are now headed by former active opposition members who have accepted the reconciliation policy. I think that this process will expand.

[Baykov] How do you see the future of Afghanistan?

[Safi] Our country's leaders have repeatedly said that our country's future is as a free, independent Afghanistan. Our country would like to have good relations with its neighbors, particularly the Soviet Union, with which it has enjoyed friendly ties for decades. Afghanistan is one of the founders of the nonaligned movement and a member of the Islamic Conference Organization. And it will continue to be an active member of the nonaligned movement and the Islamic Conference Organization.

More on Afghan Envoy's Moscow Press Conference

Future Afghanistan 'Nonaligned'

LD121748 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Afghanistan to the Soviet Union Mohammadollah Subhani Safi said today that there are now no causes left for the chiefs of the opposition groups to carry on the war.

Addressing a press conference held at the Embassy of Afghanistan here in connection with the statements by President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, he stressed that "These statements are evidence of the sincere interest of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union friendly to us in the speediest settlement of the situation around Afghanistan." The Ambassador also spoke highly of the humanitarian efforts in that direction by Diego Cordovez, personal envoy of the U.N. secretary general.

Mohammadollah Safi stressed that "the signing of the documents at the Geneva talks may resolve the question only of the foreign aspect of the settlement."

"The adoption of the Constitution and the law on the political parties, the adoption of the new law of call-up to military service, the release of political prisoners, the adoption of the decrees cancelling taxes paid by places of public worship, the cancelling of the debts of the 110 thousands of our compatriots who returned from Iran, Pakistan and Western countries as well as other practical measures demonstrate the deep and all-round concern of the Republic of Afghanistan with inter-Afghan settlement," the Afghan ambassador said.

He emphasized that the "question of the return of the Soviet troops home is in no way linked with the question of forming a new coalition government and carrying out the policy of national accord to the end." "The question of our country's future, of the creation of a coalition government is a purely internal political one, and the Afghan people themselves will decide it."

Speaking on the practical steps to form a coalition government, Mohammadollah Safi said that "The national reconciliation commissions include more than 6,000 representatives of opposition, 400 of them work at executive committees of various ranks. Non-party people make 65 per cent of the composition of the jirgahs (the national councils)".

He voiced hope that after the return of the limited contingent of the Soviet troops home, hostilities by the armed elements will cease. Now there is no cause left for the leaders of the opposition groups to carry on the war. The USSR has lived up to its promise: The Soviet troops will soon return home and not stay in Afghanistan forever. As far as religion is concerned, it can be said that the positions of Islam in Afghanistan are stronger than ever before. This is a subject of much attention of the Afghan state," the ambassador said, answering the questions.

The ambassador also said that Afghanistan is prepared to accept all the fellow countrymen, who found themselves outside their country, and stressed that there is already experience of giving aid and assistance to the refugees.

Speaking on Afghanistan's future, Mohammadollah Safi said "We see it free, independent and non-aligned. It will maintain good relations with all the neighbours. The traditional friendship of long standing between Afghanistan and the USSR will continue. We further hope for the USSR's economic, trade and technological assistance."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Report

PM161657 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Embassy Press Conference"]

[Text] The historic statements by President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan and CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev illustrate the sincere interest of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union in the speediest settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, M. Safi, ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan, said at a press conference at the embassy in Moscow.

One year ago, the ambassador continued, the policy of national reconciliation was announced with a view to overcoming the problems caused by an undeclared war which had brought about bloodshed and severe losses. Thanks to it, the process of an internal and external settlement has led to important results. Now there are great hopes and possibilities that the upcoming round of Geneva talks intended to settle the external aspect of the problem will be fruitful.

The policy of national reconciliation is the hope of millions of Afghans, M. Safi stressed. They are putting this policy into practice with a profound sense of conviction. The question of our country's future and of the creation of a coalition government is a purely domestic policy issue for Afghanistan and the Afghan people themselves will resolve it. We ourselves are to determine the political status of our state. According to the norms of international relations and the UN Charter, the imposition or discussion of this question at international forums and its resolution dependent on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops will signify interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign, free, nonaligned Afghanistan.

The future Afghanistan is a free and independent country. It will have good relations with all its neighbors, especially with the Soviet Union, the ambassador said.

'Extremist Gangs' Aggravate Afghan Situation

LD151342 Moscow TASS in English 1303 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Kabul February 15 TASS—Tass correspondent Oleg Kuzmin reports:

In the past 24 hours over 20 Afghans returned from Pakistan to Nangarhar Province. All of them received material assistance. In the past 30 days 426 Afghan families numbering more than 3,500 returned from Iran and Pakistan. At present the administration on returnees' affairs, Dr. Khalil Jalal, one of its top executives, told TASS, is preparing to welcome several hundred thousands of repatriates who will cross the Afghan border after an Afghan-Pakistani agreement on political settlement is signed in Geneva. "Now we are able to receive one million refugees who will be given assistance with prime necessities, will have medical checkup, will be rendered assistance in moving from border points to native provinces and help in job placement," said Kh. Jalal. In case more than one million people return home in a short period of time, the administration will need additional assistance, including the assistance through U.N. channels.

Extremist gangs following biddings of chieftains of the notorious seven from Pakistan are seeking to aggravate the situation in the country. The other day bandits rocketed the village of Narang Alia (Konarha Province). Two villagers were heavily wounded and several houses damaged.

To prevent such criminal actions, the Afghan armed forces and security organs are forced to resort to arms. According to the latest reports, two gangs operating in the Laghman and Helmand provinces were routed. The Afghan command called on the extremists to lay down arms voluntarily and to use the right to amnesty. However, terrorists were the first to open fire. As a result, dozens of mutineers, including four chieftains of the gangs, were killed.

A new outbreak of military operations was prevented in Herat Province by Afghan border guards who intercepted in Shindand district a convoy with weapons and ammunition for gangs operating in the province. Several transport vehicles were destroyed and the rest captured. Border guards seized grenade launchers, machine-guns, small firearms and hundreds of cases with ammuniton.

Afghan Policy Discussed on 'Panorama' Program

LD142138 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 14 Feb 88

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] [Nikolay Shishlin] Hello Comrades. Without a doubt, the number one event of last week was the statement on Afghanistan by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Your are, of course, all familiar with this statement and there is no need to describe it in greater detail, but I think that it is worth making the point that it is impossible to appraise this statement in any single dimension—it is a statement with many levels, and is further proof and affirmation of the new political thinking in the execution of our foreign policy.

Above all, I want to note that of course this statement gives the green light on the path to a political settlement of this complicated, dramatic, and acute problem. Indeed, the timetable for the removal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is the key element that was lacking in the long, complicated, and difficult talks which were held, or rather which are being held between Afghanistan and Pakistan under the aegis of Diego Cordovez, the UN deputy secretary general.

Within the framework of the discussions which have already been held, the contours, and on the whole one may say documents which are organically interrelated, have been elaborated in practical terms as a single package. And in fact one document is actually called: "On the Interrelationship." It contains the position on removing Soviet troops. And firmly, solidly linked with this is a document guaranteeing nonintervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. There is also a document dealing with the refugee situation and some other documents; and it is possible that others will come into being.

Talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan resume in Geneva on 2 March, and one would like to hope that this will be the final stage of the talks.

And now we have the not-so-frequent opportunity to ask some questions of our correspondent in Afghanistan, Mikhail Borisovich Leshchinskiy. Hello, Mikhail Borisovich, I am glad to see you on the screen.

[Leshchinskiy] Good day, Nikolay Vladimirovich. I am likewise glad to see and hear you.

[Shishlin] Well, we have some questions for you, if you will allow us.

[Leshchinskiy] I'm ready.

[Shishlin] First this question: How do people in Kabul and Afghanistan feel about the idea of forming a broad coalition government?

[Leshchinskiy] I have to say honestly that to me personally, prospects for this seem quite remote for the time being, although the process of shaping coalition forms of power in Afghanistan is under way. It may be said that its origin coincided with the active implementation of the policy of reconciliation—and by the way, we have the emblem for this here in our studio. [video shows the emblem behind Leshchinskiy] But it is taking place from the grassroots upwards. At the moment, at village, district, and in some cases even at provincial levels, such coalition forms of government have been formed and are functioning, are really functioning, which include both representatives of the opposition and leaders of former antigovernment armed groupings. Places are also allocated there for the representatives of the PDPA, but, I stress, on an equal footing.

You know that there are already several ministers working in the government of the Republic of Afghanistan who served under former regimes. Many such people have been brought into the National Front, but the entire complexity consists in this—and it is for this reason that I said that the prospects seem remote to me: the basic position is that the so-called Alliance of Seven, which is based in Pakistan, rejected—on the very first day—rejected the very idea of national reconciliation, and after this has been consistently rejecting all proposals by Kabul, including the proposal to participate in such a coalition government.

[Shishlin] That is correct, although, of course, it would probably be incorrect to regard the Alliance of Seven in itself as being something intact.

[Leshchinskiy] In general, yes.

[Shishlin] And another question: What is the attitude towards the former king of Afghanistan, Zahir Shah, who is living as an emigre in Italy?

[Leshchinskiy] You know, there is also no unequivocal answer to this question. I would say that in Afghanistan in general it is difficult [chuckles] to give an unequivocal answer to any question. The country has been alienated and literally torn apart with contradictions, grievances, mistakes, and blood for all these years. But I would say that the basic masses of Afghan society, and, in the main, its lowest strata would welcome the arrival of Zahir Shah into the country. As far as the opposition is concerned—say, the same Alliance of Seven again—there you have people who actually fought against him. You understand? That is, it is not only that there is unity in this Alliance of Seven, but there is even hostility among themselves. They are united in only one thing: the nonacceptance of the present government of Afghanistan.

[Shishlin] Yes, and in my view, from time to time they even clash with each other in military actions.

[Leshchinskiy] Oh yes, there are plenty of examples of that. And now the policy of national reconciliation has brought an interesting process to life: The minor armored groupings are moving toward a peace treaty with the Kabul authorities while the relatively major ones subordinate to Pakistan are seeking by force and terror to force people to fight.

[Shishlin] Unfortunately.

[Leshchinskiy] Yes.

[Shishlin] Our time is somewhat limited and I would like to ask you another question. How are our boys who are doing their international duty?

[Leshchinskiy] Well, I will just say a couple of words. As usual, the boys here are doing their duty, which basically consists of guarding the highways, garrisons, works, major cities, accompanying convoys with economic and military goods. For the time being, when you are in the army you do not feel in, say, a holiday mood. For the time being, the designated tasks are being fulfilled, all the more since an agreement has not yet been reached. But I think that, of course, real plans and a timetable exist. You know that in the army everything is accurate and ready in advance.

[Shishlin] I see. Mikhail Borisovich, thank you for your reply, all the best to you.

So that is the difficult situation, and it means that a fairly long road lies ahead, but it is possible to tackle it.

Well, I would like to say a couple of words about what the Alliance of Seven represents. What this refers to is the leaders of the relatively major opposition groups conducting military actions on the territory of Afghanistan. Incidentally, it is to these groups that the policy of national reconciliation which the republic is pursuing was addressed; and moreover, 27 responsible posts in the

leadership, including the post of prime minister, vice president of the republic, some ministerial posts, and responsible duties in the administrative apparatus of the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were specifically offered them—and, of course not to them alone. But they shut their ears and closed their eyes and do not want to see or hear anything, and they think that they will win the day.

But, in essence, this is a futile policy, and a different policy. The policy of national reconciliation is gaining strength; and I think that the future belongs to this policy, all the more so because the choice here belongs to the Afghan people, who have grown weary of the war, weary of military actions, and weary of hostility.

And in this context, I think that in itself the success of the course of national reconciliation, in conjunction with all the other efforts which our country is undertaking to overcome the Afghan problem, can have a long-term influence on the whole international situation, all international politics, and leave its mark in the most direct manner on the outcome of crises such as that in Central America, or the situations in the Near East, in Kampuchea, in the south of Africa, and indeed can exert an influence upon the outcome and end of the Iran-Iraq war.

The time has come to recognize the extent of the danger lurking in regional conflicts; and the time has come to deal with these conflicts. And both the Soviet Union and our friends in Afghanistan are providing an example of such responsible actions.

Coalition Government in Afghan City Reviewed
LD142213 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] The elimination of regional conflicts is as important as such global issues as limiting the arms race and providing a nuclear-free world. These conflicts were called bleeding wounds in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan. The report you are going to see now is devoted to how the healing of one such wound is progressing or how the national reconciliation process is developing in Afghanistan. The report was prepared by Aleksandr Tikhomirov.

[Begin recording] [Video shows a group of children, then a bearded man in turban] [Tikhomirov] Only after taking a close look at those faces can you perhaps fully understand the lines from a song written by our soldier: Afghanistan, you are my heartache. These children are from an orphanage in Balkh Province, children of those who died defending the April revolution. This is (? Ramis Khandzhan), one of the ringleaders of the rebels which have come down from the mountains. I was looking at him and thinking about how difficult it would be for representatives of people's power to shake hands with thousands like him, and it would be even more difficult to cooperate and share power with the opposition and former enemies. Yet this is bound to happen; this must happen in the name of the lofty goal determined by the January plenum of the PDPA, as follows: Human life has priority over all other interests. It is precisely in the name of this that it was stressed at the plenum that the country's leaders are prepared to support the creation of a coalition government and cooperate with the opposition and even former enemies, both here in Kabul and locally.

This is a purely internal Afghan issue, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted in his statement of 9 February. So, we learned about how this question may be solved not only at the provincial level but also at the district level during our journey to Balkh Province, to the major area of Kaldar. [Video shows aerial shots of land; a group of people inside a small aircraft, one of them is a middle-aged bearded man in turban]

You can see the district's villages; until last March their residents had been waging war against neighboring gangs or resisting the province's authorities. Taqabullah was the absolute ruler of the area—he had commanded an 11,000-strong detachment—and he accompanied us from the province's center to Kaldar where he is now the district chief.

Comrade Nasef, deputy chairman of the Afghan Council of Ministers, said a moment ago that there is a saying: Once a man has found a horseshoe, he then only has to find three more and a horse. [video shows Tikhomirov, the turbaned man, a man in a fur hat and an overcoat, and an interpreter in a street] In what regards the policy of national reconciliation, the horseshoe lies precisely here. This is one of the first major districts where a coalition administration has been set up.

[Nasef, in Russian] Taqabullah is now an elected official. The people have elected him. Naturally, now the people's will—Taqabullah will—is the most important thing here.

[Tikhomirov] The following situation has taken shape here: The judge here is a former dushman leader, the head of the militia is a member of the PDPA, and the head of state security is a member of the PDPA. How do they manage to get along? A situation may arise when the militia will arrest a man and will take him to court but will the judge let him go free?

To this Taqabullah gave the following reply: If someone commits a crime, we judge him according to Islamic laws and state laws.

To recognize state laws means to recognize the state. Cooperation between former rebels and party bodies of the PDPA here, in Balkh Province, in Kaldar, is taking shape precisely on this basis. Yet not everything goes

smoothly, or even not smoothly at all, because many party leaders do not fully realize that within the framework of national reconciliation they should modify the administrative command methods. They should stop interfering in all the issues of the region's economic and social development. When Taqabullah and other leaders of the rebel detachment were going over to the side of the state, they put the following conditions, among others: to build a road—this is being done; and to build a school—this is being done too. And what is particularly important—and a former rebel and the current chairman of the committee for national reconciliation of Kaldar speaks about this—is to give part of the food delivered from the Soviet Union as free aid to Afghanistan. You know, a very serious problem is taking shape. [video of a turbaned man, a helicopter flying over rail cars standing idle on railway tracks]

On our return from Kaldar we flew over (Hairatan), a port in which our cargo is concentrated, and you can see what we have seen. An enormous number of rail cars containing cargo from the Soviet Union waiting to be handled are amassed there. This has already been mentioned. Often our aid is distributed either clumsily or simply negligently. Afghan comrades are beginning to understand that goods should be dispatched purposefully and to precisely those provinces and districts where treaties are now being signed and where the sides are getting ready to establish a coalition—or, simply speaking, where both the horse and horseshoes are to be found. [end recording]

[Announcer] Yes, now when the country still has to carry on fighting, in fact, when the frontline still passes through many towns and villages, such jams in cargo delivery and distribution are still taking place. Today, when peace on Afghan land is becoming more and more real, new opportunities for a more expedient management are opening up, in particular for using the assistance rendered to Afghanistan by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with maximum effect. It seems new approaches both from our side and from the Afghan side are required.

Public Reaction in Afghanistan Assessed

'Wary' of Ziaul Haq Statements

LD131325 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] The statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the television address to the people by President Najibullah have been the main event in recent days in the life of Afghanistan. These documents are being widely commented in Afghan public circles. This is the theme of reportage by our correspondent in Kabul, Aleksandr Shkirando:

[Shkirando] Four days have already passed since these important documents were made public. However, the Afghans' interest in them not only is not slackening. On the contrary, it is increasing from one day to the next. Representatives of all sections of Afghan society express their views with regard to these statements in newspapers and on television and radio broadcasts. One cannot say that all these views are identical. For example, for some people the statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has given rise to pessimism. They are worried that the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops is still premature, since the extremist section of the counterrevolution supported by Pakistan and Western countries has no intention of moving toward reconciliation, and, in their view, this means there is a possibility of increased tension in the country.

Of course, there are also objective reasons for this kind of concern. The Afghan public has been made wary by the recent WASHINGTON POST interview with Pakistani President Ziaul Haq. In it he discussed the kind of Afghan Government with which he could sign a document on a settlement, although this document has already virtually been negotiated as a result of the Afghan-Pakistani talks, which have been going on in Geneva for 5 and 1/2 years now.

Yesterday I talked to a Kabul stall-owner, (Mukhammad Alim). This is what he said to me about this matter: If the talks in Geneva produce no result, then the entire responsibility for the continuation of the futile, bloody war will rest upon the shoulders of Pakistan and the Afghan extremists. And this is the belief of the absolute majority of Afghans. In conversation with me they have unanimously declared that, thanks to the flexible and consistent policy of the governments of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan, a favorable opportunity has now been created to cease the bloodshed on Afghan soil and to normalize the situation in the region of Southwest Asia. In their opinion, this is greatly promoted by the statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

'Remotest' Villages Not Reached

PM161135 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 88 First Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent V. Okulov: "Afghanistan: Hopes for a Peaceful Life"]

[Excerpts] The main theme in the newspapers and media in Kabul at the moment and the main topic of discussion among its citizens are the statements by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev and Afghan President Najibullah on a political settlement of the Afghan problem.

The newspaper HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR has published an editorial explaining and commenting on the viewpoint of the leaders of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan on the fundamental question of Afghan life. The political initiatives and practical measures they proposed, geared to untying the knot of the

regional conflict, are described by the paper as an important step toward peace in the country and in Southwest Asia. The course of national reconciliation, the article notes, is a manifestation of the new political thinking. It is a historic opportunity for every Afghan who wholeheartedly wants to see Afghanistan flourish. [passage omitted]

I was received at the foreign ministry by Deputy Minister Faruq Karmand. I am convinced, he said, that the statements by the Soviet and Afghan leaders will impart new momentum to the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva at their final stage. Our countries' constructive and consistent position, I am sure, will have a positive influence on the stabilization of the situation in and around Afghanistan.. Our neighbors in the region—Pakistan and Iran—must display a similarly constructive approach. We in Afghanistan regard the Soviet and Afghan leaders' statements, on the one hand, as an important step in the political settlement of the regional conflict and, on the other hand, as evidence of the further strengthening of Afghan-Soviet friendship and solidarity.

In conversation with people living in Kabul, I did not encounter any intrinsically different assessments or opposing viewpoints. But it must be borne in mind that only the small number of literate people has access to newspapers, only the affluent can afford television sets, and a great deal more work has to be done to bring the voice of Moscow and Kabul to the remotest areas and villages.

One stallholder observed:

"When the Soviet troops came to Afghanistan at our government's request, what a fuss Western propaganda made! Now the date has been named when, after the Geneva accords, the Soviet soldiers who have protected us for so many years will be able to leave. Everyone should know of this step and everyone should appreciate the meaning and significance of the important statements. Agitators are needed to go among the people and explain everything to them."

American-Afghan Federation President Interviewed
WA18070062 Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian 12 Jan 88 p 7

[Interview by Vilyus Kavalyauskas of Andrew Yeyva [name as published], president of the Federation of American-Afghan Action in New York: "Washington Lobby of the Dushmans"; date of interview not given]

[Text] Andrew Yeyva is the president of the Federation of American-Afghan Action, which acts as a lobby trying to get allocations for the dushmans from the U.S. Congress. A. Yeyva is a graduate of West Point and retired with the rank of captain. What are the goals ultraright lobbyists in the Capitol? Our own co dent in New York, Vilyus Kavalyauskas, ta Andrew Yeyva.

[Kavalyauskas] How do you evaluate the around Afghanistan in light of the policy of reconciliation being carried out by Kabul?

[Yeyva] American public opinion does not beli much in the effectiveness of Kabul's new pr Concrete actions are necessary. The most impo the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The type of mi posts which the Najibullah government has off the opposition is significant. The post of mini defense or minister of state security are not amon

Our evaluation is: the Najibullah regime w achieve with diplomacy what it has not succe achieving by force of arms.

[Kavalyauskas] Is the U.S. interested, in your p view, in a peaceful settllement of the Afghan pr

[Yeyva] There are forces in the U.S. which want t to continue—this allows them to put the USSR unfavorable position. But our federation's directed toward the fastest victory of the insurge meeting some opposition in Washington. In ge think, in the U.S. there is no particular inte Afghanistan.

For true anti-Communists, Nicaragua is more i tant. We receive practically no help from the "new in Washington. They are more interested in aid contras than to the Afghan mujahedin.

[Kavalyauskas] Then how do you explain the deli the dushmans of military equipment and weapon millions of dollars from the U.S. and other countries?

[Yeyva] It is not Afghanistan, but the Soviet which is waging the war. Weapons are necess defense against a strong enemy. The Soviet Unio aided liberation movements and they should unde that the Afghans have the right to receive foreign

The amounts of U.S. aid are classified, but the Am press has reported that in 1987 the mujahedi allotted $650 million.

[Kavalyauskas] In the last few years, there have reports in the American press stating that a large p of the financial means and the arms have not reach Afghan groups. Who is doing this embezzlement?

[Yeyva] According to our accounts, in 4 years, 70 per of the weapons have not reached the Afghans. Wh has gone is not precisely known to us.

[Kavalyauskas] American newspapers point to the Nicaraguan contras or to anti-government groups in Angola....

[Yeyva] We do not have concrete evidence, although there are certain suspicions.

[Kavalyauskas] According to specialized UN publications, the leaders of the counterrevolutionary bands do not have unconditional support, even among the Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

[Yeyva] That is not surprising. The Afghans do not love any kind of control—whether it is from Kabul, the Soviets, or the movements in Peshawar.

[Kavalyauskas] Tell us in more detail about the work of the Federation of American-Afghan Action. What are the types of its activities?

[Yeyva] There are forces in the U.S. who give us political and financial support. We could name several thousand people among our activists. Sixteen congressmen and senators actively cooperate with us in Congress, and they make up, as they call it, the "Afghan strike force" in Congress.

Representatives of the State Department, the Pentagon and the CIA avoid supporting us officially. However, some of them secretly pass information to us or allow a "leak" to the press of facts necessary to us.

We wanted the Afghans to receive the most modern weapons—"stinger" missiles. It wasn't easy to get them. The plan to deliver "stingers" to Afghanistan was opposed by certain people both in the Pentagon and the CIA.

[Kavalyauskas] The "stingers" also hit civilian airplanes, which has led to many casualties among peaceful citizens. These missiles also fell into the hands of Iran. Was this foreseen in Washington?

[Yeyva] Currently the mujahedin have more than 1,000 "stingers". It is still not clear how the Iranians got these missiles.

Regarding the casualties among the peaceful population, the death of people is unfortunate, but there is justification for it.

Glukhov Scorns U.S. Mideast Proposals as 'Fake'

PM161325 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1, 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Glukhov commentary: "Forgery"]

[Text] Beirut—It has already been remarked that Richard Murphy, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, starts producing remedies for a "settlement" of the conflict situations in the Near East region whenever the development of events threatens the interests of the United States or its closest partner, Israel.

His recent tour of a number of Near East states was clearly linked with the Palestinians' uprising on the Israeli-occupied territories. The aim was to seek a solution to the difficult situation created for Tel Aviv and Washington. The Washington envoy's remedy is called the "new U.S. Near East initiative."

It is true that U.S. diplomacy has still not revealed all the details of the plan, but the Israeli mass media are not keeping it secret. According to Tel Aviv radio, the U.S. proposals "crystallize the peace process." What, then, is the essence of this "crystallization"?

The United States proposes that a multilateral meeting be held in Geneva in April "under the auspices of an international organization." It will be expected to announce direct talks between the participants in the Near East conflict. During the next 6 months they will work toward an interim agreement on the "autonomous self-management" of the occupied territories, where elections are to be held. It is proposed that direct talks begin in December on the future status of the occupied territories....

From the very outset, it is clear that the U.S. proposals are a fake and an attempt to replace the basic concepts of a Near East settlement developed and approved by life itself. The essence and tasks of the international conference on the region's problems are being devalued. The aim is to turn this forum from a most important collective working body into a screen behind which to conceal the policy of separate deals.

That was the very reason behind replacing the idea of an independent Palestinian state by the so-called "autonomous self-management." The PLO—the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative—is excluded from the settlement process. By all accounts it is to be replaced by "the people's elected representatives" whom the Israeli occupiers would like to put forward during the projected "elections" on the captured lands. But there is no mention of the unconditional withdrawal of the forces of occupation!

The "new U.S. Near East initiative" has naturally provoked a critical reaction in the Arab countries. We insist upon a fully empowered international conference, Prime Minister Zaid al-Rifa'i of Jordan has stated in a BBC interview. A conference to which the UN secretary general is invited and which involves the five permanent members of the UN Security Council as well as all the sides involved in the Arab-israeli conflict, including the PLO. We insist upon a conference with a continuing role to play, not a meeting producing a single document. The withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupiued territories is absolutely essential, Z. al-Rifa'i said.

The U.S. plan has been rejected as completely bankrupt by the PLO leadership, which has stated that the Palestinian people will strive for genuine self-determination.

Syria's TISHRIN comments that at the same time, Washington will tolerate no solution which does not serve Israel now and in the future. The newspaper writes that the White House is using its envoys to spread rumors about a "phased solution." The aim is to help its ally, which is in an unenviable position, to gain time and secure new concessions from the Arabs.

It is also alarming that "links" are being established between the U.S. approach to a settlement and certain initiatives put forward in the Arab countries. According to press reports, for example, the White House spoke positively about recent Egyptian proposals and accepted the main ones. As observers here note, the transatlantic "peacemakers" are counting in particular on using Cairo's proposal to ease the situation on the Israeli-occupied lands in order to defuse the Palestinians' liberation struggle.

The Near East conflict is a chronic ailment. It is having a grave effect upon the situation in the region and throughout the world and must be cured immediately. But the U.S. remedies and the attempt to revive the diplomacy of Camp David represent a policy unsuited to the peoples of the region. These assessments contain the initial reaction in the Arab countries to the report of the current fuss about the "new U.S. Near East initiative."

U.S. Closure of PLO Mission Criticized

LD111837 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Damascus February 11 TASS—The major Palestinian organizations here have criticized the U.S. decision to close the U.N. mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization as a blatantly anti-Arab act.

An official spokesman for the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine said here that the latest slap in the Palestinians' face reveals the true meaning of U.S. policy in the Middle East. It testifies to continuing hostility toward the Palestinian people and their sole lawful representative, the PLO.

The spokesman said Washington intends to close the mission because the Palestinian people have condemned and rejected the U.S. Middle East position which boils down to unqualified backing for U.S. "strategic ally" Tel Aviv.

The U.S. Administration now claims that it is making active efforts to restore peace to the Middle East, but the real aim of these efforts is to help Israel to suppress the popular uprising in occupied Arab territories and prevent the Palestinian people from realizing their legitimate national rights to self-determination, freedom and the creation of an independent state of their own, the statement continued.

Washington is out to prevent an international conference on a Middle East settlement to be attended by all sides concerned, including the PLO, it said.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, for its part, said, in a statement issued by an official spokesman for its political bureau, that Washington's anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab decision should open the eyes of all those still pinning hopes on U.S. policy in the region.

The Front urged all progressive forces in the Arab East to take an even stronger anti-imperialist stand.

It noted also that the U.S. Administration's decision to close the PLO mission to the U.N. contradicts the decisions of the United Nations which has recognized the PLO as the sole lawful representative of the Palestinians and granted that organization the status of an observer.

All this, the statement said, makes it imperative for the world community once again to raise the issue of expediency of preserving the U.N. Headquarters in New York.

Lebanese Foil Al-Jumayyil Assassination Attempt

LD121837 Moscow TASS in English 1752 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Beirut February 12 TASS—The Lebanese security service today foiled an attempt on the life of the country's President Amin al-Jumayyil. As reported by Lebanon's Minister of posts and communications Joseph al-Hashim, a big explosive charge was discovered in the plane which was to take the head of state on a trip abroad. There is no doubt that this was an assassination attempt, the minister said.

Lebanese CP Plenum Adopts 'Minimum Program'

PM101453 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent dispatch "Tasks of the Day"]

[Text] Beirut, 3 Feb—A plenum of the Lebanese Communist Party [LCP] Central Committee has been held to discuss the results of the first year following the Fifth LCP Congress. G. Hawi, secretary general of the LCP Central Committee, delivered the report at the plenum. The speaker analyzed the situation in the country and the region and dwelt on the tasks which have arisen in connection with the need to overcome the protracted crisis in Lebanon. The minimum program put forward by the Communists comprises the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression, the complete

liberation of Lebanese territory from occupation forces, the strengthening of ties with Syria, an improvement in Lebanese-Palestinian relations, the restoration of the country's unity on a democratic basis, the implementation of radical social and political measures, and success in overcoming the economic crisis.

G. Hawi gave a high appraisal of the results of the recent visit to Moscow of a joint PSP [Progressive Socialist Party] and LCP delegation and the talks and contacts with the CPSU Central Committee. He noted the outstanding international importance of the restructuring under way in the USSR and of the concept of new political thinking elaborated by the CPSU.

Commentary on Israel's Palestinian Policies

Shultz Statement Criticized

LD082349 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 8 TASS—TASS observer Yevgeniy Babenko writes:

The 44th session of the U.N. Commission for Human Rights convened in Geneva which is discussing the Palestinian problem, among other things, is taking place against the background of tragic developments in the Middle East region.

The Israeli authorities which are stubbornly pursuing a policy of the annexation of the Arab lands captured in 1967 deprive Palestinians living there of the basic human rights and subject them to inhuman treatment, arrests and torture. This is what forced the Palestinian people to start the struggle.

Two months ago massive protests began in the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza sector. Their residents are fighting for the exercise of their national rights. In the past several weeks dozens of Arabs were killed by punitive troops and hundreds were wounded. Grenades with tear gas and other toxic agents were used against participants in actions in support for the restoration of basic human rights. The Israeli military command used helicopters and armoured vehicles against the population of Jerusalem and nearby villages.

Armed gangs from Israeli paramilitary settlements illegally created on occupied Arab lands broke loose with the direct connivance of the authorities. They receive arms right from army depots, patrol roads on their own initiative, stage provocations, set houses on fire and kill people. According to the latest information, detachments of Israeli extremists staged outrageous pogroms in the cities of el Khalil and Halhul. The ultra-reactionary movement Gush Emunim urged to raze to the ground the Arab villages whose residents oppose the Israeli rule.

A statement of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz to the effect that Israel is a democratic country striving for stability, peace and for having a possibility to decide its destiny by itself and that the U.S. supports these goals sounded rather strange against the background of those developments. The statement made it clear on whose support and assistance Israeli extremists count when they commit outrages on Arab lands.

The present developments clearly show that Tel Aviv's repressions on captured Arab lands deepen mutual mistrust and heighten tension. They show as well that the Middle East conflict cannot be settled without the solution of the Palestinian problem. A representative international conference with the participation of permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization which is the only lawful representative of the Palestinian people, is the direct way to the settlement.

Shamir's Statement Criticized

LD082348 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 8 (TASS)—TASS Commentator Vladimir Aleksandrov writes:

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir issued a statement in which he summed up the situation in the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip as "a war of the Arab world against the very existence of the State of Israel".

This statement, made at a time when indignation with bloody crimes of Israeli aggressors against the Palestinian people is widening in the world, can be assessed only as an awkward attempt of the Israel leader to place the blame at the wrong door.

According to his logic, it is not the Israeli punitive forces, which mercilessly shoot demonstrations of Arab population and throw Palestinians behind bars by hundreds, who are to blame for the rampage of violence in the West Bank and the Gaza strip, but the Arabs who come out in defence of their national rights flouted by Zionists and demand an end to the illegal occupation of Arab lands.

The unprecedented scope of protests of Palestinians on Israeli-occupied Arab territories confirmed the need for an urgent elimination of the dangerous seat of tension in the Middle East, for concrete steps toward a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict to which the Palestinian problem is crucial. It is apparent that there is no, nor can there be durable peace in the region as long as a whole people comprising over 4.5 million is denied the fundamental and inalienable right to self-determination, the right to have its national state.

It follows from Shamir's statement that they in Tel Aviv still refuse to face the reality and continue relying on force. For the statement of the Israeli premier is actually a call for the further intensification of terror and for the unleashing of a total war against Palestinians.

Brutal reprisals meted out by the occupiers to the participants in protests have not led to the "pacification" of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Quite the contrary, they aggravated the situation still more. But neither the genocide unleashed by the Zionists against the Palestinian people nor the attempts to replace genuine solution to the Palestinian problems with a narrow "administrative autonomy" on the Camp David pattern, to which Washington resorts, will lead to peace in the Middle East. There is only one way to peace in the area—an international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, as well as the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council.

Egyptian Fundamentalism Due to Social 'Abyss'

PM161129 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Belyakov dispatch: "What the Koran Does Not Demand"]

[Text] Cairo—You'll see absolutely all kinds of dress on the streets of central Cairo in the afternoon! There are young city women wearing miniskirts and elderly women from the villages in long black robes, as well as European tourists in jeans. A local female attire which has become widespread recently is as follows: a modern dress, but with a shawl on the head covering the neck, ears, and hair. The shawl is the sign that its wearer adheres to strict Islamic views.

The sentiments of Muslim fundamentalism are extremely widespread in Egypt. In fact it was, strictly speaking, here that this ideological trend originated 60 years ago. The "Muslim Brotherhood" organization was set up in the city of Isma'iliyah. Similar organizations now exist in many Arab states. This is how some of the population reacted to the rapid development of capitalist relations. Calling for the country to be built upon the principles of "pure," medieval Islam, the "Brotherhood" in Egypt frequently challenged the temporal power. Now it has become a respectable organization. And although it still lacks its own legal party, nonetheless it continues to publish its press organs freely and even has seats in the country's People's Assembly. In other words it occupies a definite place in society, with the authorities' consent.

Underground extremist groupings, of which there are now several dozen, are another matter. It was they who removed President Al-Sadat, and they periodically carry out terrorist acts. The fundamentalists attack casinos, video libraries, and liquor stores. They demand separate education for boys and girls, polygamy, and a ban on women's involvement in public life. Matters reached the point where theologians from the largest Muslim university, Al-Azhar, came under pressure from fundamentalists to tackle the study of the following question: Does the holy Koran demand that women cover their faces? The decision was as follows: The Koran makes no such requirement.

Numerous diverse manifestations of Muslim fundamentalism in Egypt attract the attention of both the authorities and the public. What are the roots of this phenomenon? Opinions are varied on this question. "It's the latest fashion," one of my Egyptian friends said once. A convenient answer but one which does not reveal the root of the problem.

Take the students, among whom fundamentalism has become especially widespread. Last summer sociologist A. al-Jundi studied the sentiments of Muslim students from Cairo and Hulwan Universities. Of those polled, 83 percent stated that the best way to achieve social justice is to introduce Islamic shari'a laws in the country. Even so, it emerged that this opinion is held, almost without exception, by people coming from poor families. At the same time, the study showed that only 31 percent of students hope to receive suitable work after graduating, and 21 percent hope to have the opportunity to independently keep a family, set up their own home, and, accordingly, get married.

But is this the point? Can young people be satisfied with a society with such a dismal future? The answer is inevitable.

At the same time, you cannot help but point out that for the overwhelming majority of Egyptians, the direction of the quest for an alternative is limited to the framework of religion. It remains the prevailing form of mass public consciousness. As this survey showed, 72 percent of students pray every day and only 3 percent do not pray at all. Despairing of finding social justice and happiness in today's real world, young people, always inclined to maximalism, enthusiastically follow those who attribute all society's defects to deviation from "true Islam" on the part of those in power.

No, it is not a question of fashion but of the abyss which exists in Egypt between the fabulous wealth of the few and the perpetual poverty of the millions. And the deeper this abyss becomes, the more women appear on the streets of Egyptian cities covering their neck, ears, and hair with scarves.

Proposal for UN Naval Force in Gulf Reviewed

LD161249 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT 16 Feb 88

["Ways of Achieving Settlement in Persian Gulf"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—By a Tass diplomatic correspondent:

The political atmosphere in the Persian Gulf zone remains tense.

The "tanker war" is continuing unabated and the danger of another flareup of large-scale hostilities on the Iran-Iraq front, with new and dangerous political and economic implications for the world community as a whole.

The militarization of the region is under way at a crash pace and there is an unprecedented foreign naval buildup in the Gulf.

The size of the naval forces amassed there today is plainly larger than the practical need for them and constitutes another factor aggravating the already most unstable military-political situation in the Gulf.

Life confirms the pressing need to defuse the Iran-Iraq confict, one of the most dangerous regional conflicts, and related issues are currently being discussed in the United Nations Security Council.

A plan proposed by the Soviet Union on this score is exceptionally simple. It basically boils down to proceeding to a political settlement of the conflict and restored stability in the region by two parallel ways, those of fulfilling the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 598 in its entirety and of making drastic cuts in the naval forces of non-littoral countries in the Persian Gulf and replacing them with U.N. naval contingents.

But the Soviet call for such contingents, all indications are, has been perceived in Washington through the prism of rivalry. The old stereotype beliefs that the Soviet Union is nothing loath to increase its influence in the Persian Gulf, for example by substituting U.N. naval contingents for the Western navies, are evidently still at work there.

The political opponents of normalized Soviet-American relations keep delivering untenable monologues on a Soviet eagerness for "the warmer seas" without a respite.

In order to find ways of achieving a settlement in the Persian Gulf, new approaches are needed, which should correspond to the spirit of the times and be based on a balance of interests.

The Soviet proposal for enlisting U.N. naval forces is a practical embodiment of such new thinking.

Instead of mine sweeping by an integrated naval contingent of Western countries, and one operating under a single command (an idea actively mooted in the Western media), the USSR suggests international forces under the patronage, not of states locked in a military-political alliance, but of the world community under the U.N. aegis.

Vorontsov Receives Iranian Ambassador

LD161355 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Soviet first deputy foreign minister Yuliy Vorontsov today received the ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Soviet Union, Naser Heirani-Nobari, at his request.

During the conversation, they discussed issues of bilateral Soviet-Iranian relations and the termination of the Iran-Iraq war and the question of the earliest settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan in the new conditions created following Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan on February 8, this year.

Iran's Revolution Day Marked by Ceremonies

Envoy Speaks on Moscow TV

LD112307 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; address by Iranian Ambassador to the USSR Naser Heirani-Nobari on the occasion of Iran's national day; Heirani-Nobari speaks in Persian, fading into superimposed Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen: nine years ago, by the grace of God and due to the unity and cohesion of the people and the intelligent leadership of Imam Khomeyni, the great Islamic revolution in Iran achieved victory. After the victory of the Islamic revolution, the country's first 5-year plan for economic, social, and cultural development was adopted. Its main objectives were to develop education and culture and to guarantee the people's interests and economic independence through the production of basic consumer goods in the country. We can say today that Iran has attained independence and does not rely on other countries. Thus, whereas previously Iranian diplomacy was controlled by Washington, today it is controlled exclusively by Tehran itself. Iran is one of the few genuinely independent countries in the world. Of course, the heroic people of Iran have paid dearly for these achievements, and we will not fear further costs in order to defend them.

As a direct political consequence of the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran, imperialism's positions in the region were weakened. Today we are witnessing a struggle by the Palestinian people and the people of Lebanon for their rights. Their struggle is an example of the growing influence of vanguard forces in the region. Under the old regime, the United States used Iran as a base against the Soviet Union. Various eavesdropping systems were built on Iranian territory near the Soviet border and used to conduct espionage against your country. With the victory of the great Islamic revolution, all U.S. bases in Iran were liquidated and the Americans were expelled from Iran. Washington cannot bear having lost control of Iran, which used to be one of the region's

most important strategic properties for the imperialist circles. That is why the United States never ceases for a moment to weave conspiracies against the Islamic revolution. The mighty military campaign undertaken in the Persian Gulf by the United States and its allies with the aim of instilling fear may serve as an example of imperialism's pressure on Iran.

A great and devastating war has been foisted upon us. Throughout every year of it, the brave Iranian people have demonstrated heroic efforts. From the very first days of the war Iran has advocated the establishment of a stable and just peace. We believe that such a peace is possible. We are convinced that our stance is right, and believe that in the end history will determine who is guilty.

We rate highly the Soviet Union's objective approach to the need for a withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Persian Gulf. For many years relations between Iran and the Soviet Union have been developing and strengthening at a growing pace. We hope that this process will continue.

We wish you success and happiness. Thank you for your attention.

Officials Attend Envoy's Reception

LD111959 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 11 TASS—Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the USSR Naser Heirani-Nobari today held a reception on the occasion of the national holiday—the Revolution Day.

Present at the reception were Secretary of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Tengiz Menteshashvili, Minister of external economic relations of the USSR Konstantin Katushev, Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Anatoliy Adamishin, other officials.

IZVESTIYA Reports Pallayev's Iraq Visit

PM121253 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation in Iraq"]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by Gaibnazar Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, paid an official visit to Iraq 31 January through 7 February at the invitation of the Iraqi National Council.

The delegation was received by Saddam Husayn, chairman of the Revolution Command Council and Iraqi president. Talks were held with the following members of the Revolution Command Council—Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy prime minister; Foreign Minister T. 'Aziz; and K. 'Ali, general secretary of the Progressive National Patriotic Front.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation had talks with Sa'dun Hammadi, member of the Revolution Command Council and speaker of the National Council. The sides expressed great satisfaction at the level of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Iraq—relations which are based on the treaty of friendship and cooperation. They noted the great importance of the visit by S. Husayn, general secretary of the regional (Iraqi) command of the Ba'th Party and Iraqi president, to Moscow in 1985 and his meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and advocated the continuation of contacts at various levels, including between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Iraqi National Council.

The Soviet delegation talked about the restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union and about how the Soviet people are resolving the tasks of accelerating socioeconomic development.

The Iraqi side briefed the Soviet delegation on the progress in implementing the administrative and economic reforms being carried out in Iraq under the leadership of President S. Husayn.

During a discussion of topical problems in the present-day international situation the joint opinion was expressed that there is a persistent need to step up efforts to avert the nuclear threat, stop the arms race, and prevent it from spreading into space. The Iraqi side made a high assessment of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and stated its support for the USSR's consistent course aimed at improving the international political climate and deepening the detente process.

The important role of parliaments in attracting greater attention to the problems of regional conflicts—first and foremost the question of the need to end the Iran-Iraq war—was reaffirmed.

The Soviet side welcomed Iraq's willingness to entertain a political settlement to the conflict on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 598. The Soviet side reaffirmed that the USSR will continue to make efforts, including within the UN Security Council framework and with a view to fully implementing Resolution 598, and will take all necessary practical measures to end this tragic war. It was also stated that further steps must be taken to ensure the fulfillment of Resolution 598.

The speaker of the Iraqi National Council dwelt on the question of the causes of the Iran-Iraq conflict and reaffirmed Iraq's right to defend its sovereignty, independence, and national choice. He noted that Iraq

opposes any foreign interference and tutelage and firmly adheres to the principled peace-loving course of settling regional conflicts through talks based on mutual respect for national sovereignty.

During a discussion of the situation in the Persian Gulf, the impermissibility of expanding the framework of the conflict was stressed, as was the need to respect the sovereignty of the region's states.

The Soviet and Iraqi parliamentarians resolutely condemned the Israeli authorities' mass reprisals against the peaceful Palestinian population in the occupied territories and expressed solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO—their sole legitimate representative—against the occupation and for the implementation of their inalienable national rights. The sides advocated the immediate convening of a competent international conference on the Near East under UN auspices with the equal participation of all interested sides, including the PLO and UN Security Council members.

The sides stated the need to overcome the Lebanese crisis on the basis of rational agreement among the Lebanese themselves with the maintenance of Lebanon's unity, independence, and territorial integrity.

The Soviet and Iraqi sides expressed support for national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the struggle for independence, unity, and progress and against all forms of aggression, race discrimination, violence, and theft by the imperialist monopolies. The sides reaffirmed the need to respect fundamental human rights, to deepen democratic transformations, to create favorable conditions for dialogue, and to strengthen mutual understanding between states on different continents.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation expressed its gratitude for the cordiality and hospitality shown it during its stay in Iraq.

The Soviet delegation gave an official invitation for an Iraqi National Council delegation to visit the Soviet Union. The invitation was gratefully accepted. The time table for the visit will be decided at a later date.

Sri Lanka Marks Anniversary of Ties

LD112334 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Colombo February 11 TASS—A celebration public meeting devoted to the 31st anniversary of the diplomatic relations between the USSR and Sri Lanka, was held at one of the biggest halls of Colombo today. It was attended by prominent statesmen, politicians and public leaders, representatives of various strata of the population of the country and also a Soviet public delegation.

Speaking at the meeting, Minister of transport M. Gumhamed expressed satisfaction with the development of friendly relations between the USSR and Sri Lanka in different areas. The Sri Lanka people, he said, welcome the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of the Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles and highly appreciate the Soviet Union's support for the struggle being waged by Arab peoples against Israel's policy. The relations of friendship and cooperation meet the national interests of the peoples of our countries. The USSR renders Sri Lanka assistance in the construction of a number of industrial enterprises, in the training of skilled personnel, said Chairman of the Sri Lanka-USSR Friendship League T.B. Subasinghe.

Algerian Construction Equipment To Be Imported

PM091429 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Neznamov: "New Contracts"]

[Text] Algiers—Cranes, concrete mixers, transporters,compactors, and other construction equipment will be supplied to our country in 1988 by the Algerian national enterprise for the production of public works equipment.

Initially 5 kinds of equipment are involved and five contracts have been signed by representatives of the local firm and the "Tekhnoeksport" Foreign Trade Association. Talks on other kinds of goods are being held.

These agreements are the first in the practice of trade and economic relations between the two countries—which celebrate 25 years of existence at the end of 1988—and thus constitute landmarks. They alter the established notion of the pattern of Algerian exports to the Soviet Union while, on the other hand, forcing USSR foreign trade organizations to pay greater attention to the Algerian consumer market.

Today's contracts, which concretize the first very important agreements between our countries, were concluded last October. The visiting delegation of experts here has given its consent to the purchase of quite a wide range of goods from Algeria in the next few years.

"Formerly our foreign trade organizations traditionally gravitated in their dealings with the states of Africa, Asia, and Latin America toward raw materials," S.S. Vinogradov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gossnab, told me during our conversation, "often forgetting that developing countries did not stand still and that some of them had made a leap forward in industrial development, setting up their own production of sophisticated machinery, of which our economy is presently in sore need. Upon our arrival in Algeria, we were able to see for ourselves the high level attained by some of them. It is important for Algerians to sell such goods on the foreign market, to expand their exports, and to acquire experience in manufactures trade. We are solving our urgents

tasks, and Algeria its own, to our mutual benefit. Experience of bilateral operations involving a wide range of goods, which was virtually nonexistent before, is thus being developed and deepened in the sphere of trade and economic cooperation. But we do not intend to stop here. The question of setting up on Algerian territory a joint Algerian-Soviet enterprise whose output would go to the USSR and the international market is also under active discussion."

Briefs

Cooperation With Morocco

Rabat February 13 TASS—A programme for cultural and scientific cooperation between the Soviet Union and Morocco for 1988-1989 has been signed here. The programme envisages wider contacts between the two countries in the fields of culture, science, art and crafts, as well as education, the press, radio, television, and sports. Speaking at the signing ceremony, Mr Moulin, director of the Department of Cultural, Scientific and Technical Cooperation of the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, emphasised that the signing of the programme became a new illustration of successful development of friendly Moroccan-Soviet relations. [Text] [*Moscow TASS in English 0924 GMT 13 Feb 88 LD*]

Export Accord With Algeria

An agreement was signed in Moscow yesterday between Algeria and the Soviet Union on the export of Algerian hygenic products to the Soviet Union in 1988-89. This commercial deal stipulates the export of 840,000 bathroom taps to the Soviet Union. It is worth noting that 32,000 tons of textiles from the Karma Textile Complex in Oran were sent to Italy last month. A large number of shoes were also sent to Italy in addition to 342 tons of [word indistinct] and 1,975 tons of hydrocarbon derivatives. [Text] [*Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 12 Feb 88 LD*]

Sub-Saharan Africa

Further on Demichev Luncheon for Mali's Traore

PM161019 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In an Atmosphere of Strengthening Cooperation"]

[Text] P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the the USSR Supreme Soviet, gave a luncheon in the Great Kremlin Palace 10 February in honor of M. Traore, secretary general of the Mali People's Democratic Union and president of the republic, who is on an unofficial visit to the country.

During a conversation, P.N. Demichev stressed the importance of further increasing our states' collaboration in the international arena in the interests of establishing a just, nonviolent, and nonnuclear world. He took note of the great significance of the increasingly active introduction into the practice of international relations of the new political thinking. This applies both to problems of a general, global nature and questions of a political settlement in various parts of the world. Special attention was paid to M.S. Gorbachev's Statement on Afghanistan, which opens up a real chance for a peaceful settlement of the situation in that country.

The Malian president spoke highly of the Soviet Union's dynamic, peace-loving initiatives and its efforts to implement a program of nuclear disarmament opening up favorable opportunities for the peoples' peaceful and independent development. Both sides expressed mutual satisfaction at the development of fruitful Soviet-malian cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres.

Burkina Faso's Compaore Supports Afghan Moves

LD122207 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1741 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Ougadougou, 12 February (TASS)—Blaise Compaore, chairman of the Popular Front, head of state and head of government of Burkina Faso, has sent a message to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on behalf of the Burkinabe people and his political following in the Popular Front. The message expresses support for the decision of the USSR Government to begin the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan on 15 May 1988.

This decision, the document says, which is dictated by a respect for the right of peoples to order their own fate, the principles of peaceful coexistence, and the Soviet-Afghan treaty on the establishment of friendly relations signed on 28 February 1921, strengthens the positions of the worldwide anti-imperialist camp and demolishes completely bourgeois and reactionary propaganda. The Popular Front, the message points out, confirms its support for all the Soviet initiatives directed at establishing peace and security and for all the efforts being made by the Soviet Union in the sphere of the peaceful settlement of conflicts and disarmament.

Briefs

New Ambassador in Zaire

Moscow February 12 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has appointed Vladislovas Ionaitis, 53, as the USSR ambassador in Zaire. The new Soviet ambassador joined the diplomatic service in 1963 and has held a number of responsible positions in the foreign ministry in Moscow and abroad. Since 1985 he was the USSR consul general in Ho Chi Minh City (Socialist Republic of Vietnam). Valentin Soldatov has

been relieved of his duties of USSR ambassador in the Republic of Zaire in connection with his retirement. [Text] [*Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 12 Feb 88 LD*]

East Europe

Demonstrations Show 'Hostile Elements' in GDR

LD161136 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0921 GMT 16 Feb 88

[TASS International Service in Russian at 1005 GMT on 16 February transmits a service message killing this item]

[Text] Berlin, 16 Feb TASS correspondent Yuiriy Borisov reports:

In the GDR, elements who do not hide their hostile attitude toward the republic and who demand permission to emigrate have stepped up their activity once again. This time Dresden is the backdrop for their actions. Just as in the Berlin demonstrations in the memory of R. Luxemburg and K. Liebknecht, on 17 January this year representatives of the mass information media accredited in the GDR were clearly alerted beforehand about the sortie being prepared and "turned up on the spot" on time.

The reason chosen for the new dissident activities was the 43d anniversary of the barbaric destruction of Dresden by U.K.-U.S. aviation. In the evening, in one of the city's churches a service in the memory of those who died during the bombing was held. Several thousand people participated in it. Then about a thousand people headed toward the ruins of the Frauenkirche Church, where people were praying for peace and justice. Meanwhile, around 300 people gathered near the church and shouted provocative slogans and tried to involve those at prayer in their gathering. The police detained several offenders of public order. However, after talking to them they soon released all of them.

PRAVDA Supports GDR

PM101529 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov dispatch: "Rebutting Intrigues"]

[Text] Berlin, Feb—FRG and West Berlin news media have recently launched a whole propaganda campaign against the socialist German state. Measures taken to detain a number of GDR citizens suspected of links with Western special services have been used as a pretext. In addition, a group of agents provocateurs tried to disrupt public peace and order in Berlin during a recent traditional demonstration to honor the memory of the leaders of the German proletariat, K. Liebknecht and R. Luxemburg, villainously murdered in January 1919. The organizers of this blasphemous act were taken to court. An unprejudiced observer cannot doubt the correctness of the steps taken by the GDR authorities, designed as they are to ensure security and public order on the basis of the law just as in any other sovereign state. And it is more than obvious that the socialist gains of the GDR working people must be reliably protected against any encroachments no matter what form these take. The working people and representatives of all sections of the GDR population resolutely condemn the activities of the antisocial elements and regard the ballyhoo raised in the West as an attempt to hamper the changes for the better which have emerged in the development of international relations.

Apart from the routine accusations leveled at the GDR on account of the "violation of human rights," Western propaganda is, on this occasion, trying to cast a shadow on relations between the state and the church by accusing the authorities of infringing the freedom of religion merely on the basis that the arrested special service agents and agents provocateurs claim to be believers. A new technique is also attracting attention in this unseemly propaganda campaign—the attempt to link the actions of the antisocial elements in the GDR with the processes of restructuring and development of glasnost in the Soviet Union. Even the radio station which broadcasts counterrevolutionary propaganda against the GDR from West Berlin now calls itself "Glasnost."

However, no juggling of facts can obscure the truth and mislead people. The truth is that the restructuring in our country is designed to strengthen socialism and on no account to weaken it. This is common knowledge. Therefore, attempts to encroach on the socialist system in the GDR under the mantle of the slogans of restructuring and the further development of democracy are doomed to failure, no matter whence they emanate. The peoples of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries side with the GDR working people.

'Malicious Campaign' Exists

PM051234 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Hostile Campaign Against the GDR"]

[Text] Berlin, 4 Feb—A vigorous hostile campaign against the GDR has recently been launched by certain political circles and mass media in the FRG and West Berlin. The pretext was an incident which took place in Berlin on 17 January during the traditional demonstration by working people of the capital of the republic in memory of K. Liebknecht and R. Luxemburg. It would be more accurate to call it not an incident, but a deliberate provocation by a group of people who, disrupting public order, tried to prevent the demonstration.

It is largely a question of dissidents who have long since ceased to hide their hostility to the socialist German state. It was clearly no accident that camera crews from West German television and correspondents from the

FRG and West Berlin were present at the scene of the occurrence. It is quite obvious they were warned beforehand that an action was planned.

When the competent GDR organs restored order and those guilty of disrupting it were called to account, a malicious campaign against the GDR was launched in the FRG and West Berlin.

The question arises: Why was this provocative venture started specifically now? Clearly some people in the FRG and West Berlin do not like the process of relaxation of international tension which has begun, especially since the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-range Missiles. These circles are also clearly alarmed by the growth of the GDR'S international prestige and its consistent struggle to strengthen international security and normalize the situation on the European continent.

Further on Orzechowski's Official Visit

Report on Gromyko Meeting

PM151011 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Under the Sign of Soviet-Polish Fraternity"]

[Text] On 9 February in the Kremlin A.A. Gromyko received Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish foreign minister, who is in Moscow on an official friendly visit.

In the course of the conversation a thorough exchange of opinions on a broad range of international problems and a varied spectrum of bilateral relations took place.

M. Orzechowski provided information about the progress of the implementation of the program for socialist renewal in Poland outlined by the 10th PZPR Congress and about the implementation of the second phase of economic reform.

Both sides pointed to the development of multifaceted ties between the Soviet Union and socialist Poland in all spheres of cooperation.

A.A. Gromyko stated that it is easy to hold conversations with comrades from fraternal Poland because we both breathe the same political air. All relations between both countries develop under the sign of the fraternity between the two peoples tempered in the struggle against fascism and in the postwar years of socialist building.

When discussing key international questions A.A. Gromyko stressed that the signing of the Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was a manifestation of the new political thinking and a sober consideration of all the complexity of the international situation. This event is, indisputably, of tremendous historic importance. This is no exaggeration.

It was noted that at the time that this Soviet-Polish meeting was taking place the USSR supreme organ of state power's Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commissions were sitting in another Kremlin building. They began the discussion of the question of the Soviet-U.S. treaty in connection with its upcoming ratification. The ratification of this treaty by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the U.S. Congress will help the nuclear disarmament process to grow and will greatly facilitate the achievement of an accord on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments.

A.A. Gromyko expressed the Soviet viewpoint on a number of most important avenues of the Soviet state's foreign policy. He drew the Polish foreign minister's attention to the very important Statement on Afghanistan by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, which newspapers have just published.

M. Orzechowski. I listened to the statement with great interest yesterday evening when it was broadcast on television.

A.A. Gromyko stressed that the Soviet Union's line consists of creating conditions for the withdrawal of the limited contingent of our troops from Afghanistan. Therefore the statement gave specific dates.

The Soviet Union upholds a strategic line and the appropriate questions will be resolved subsequently as they crop up in turn. Our strategic line in foreign affairs is aimed not at war but at peace. Therefore the solution of the "Afghan question," in our opinion, will be a major contribution to the cause of peace throughout the world. We want to see Afghanistan as a truly neutral nonaligned state. We are confident that such a policy also attracts other states by its cogency.

A.A. Gromyko talked about the underlying nature of restructuring in the Soviet state, the great scope which it has provided for individual enterprises' economic activity, and its purposefulness—the future strengthening of socialism.

The conversation took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

The following were present: V.P. Loginov, USSR deputy foreign minister; V.I. Brovikov, USSR ambassador to Poland; Jerzy Nowak, director of the Polish Foreign Ministry Department of Studies and Programming; and Wlodzimierz Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR.

Tours Leningrad, Receives Degree

LD112109 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] The visit to our country by Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish minister of foreign affairs, continues. Today he visited Leningrad University. His student years were spent at the university's history Department. The solemn ceremony of awarding Comrade Orzechowski an honorary university doctorate took place there. The guest visited the cruiser Avrora. At Piskarevskoye memorial cemetery he stood in honor of the memory of Leningraders and soldiers who died during the Great Patriotic War and laid a wreath at the monument to the motherland.

Meets With Solovyev, Leaves

PM161247 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "On Visit to Soviet Union by Polish Foreign Minister M. Orzechowski"]

[Text] Leningrad, 12 Feb—Yu.F. Solovyev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Leningrad party obkom first secretary, met with M. Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish foreign minister, today. He told the guest about the economic and social development of Leningrad city and oblast, the transfer of enterprises to the new conditions of economic management, and the implementation of the Food Program. It was stressed that the process of restructuring is becoming increasingly perceptible in the activity of party and soviet organs and social organizations. They are now resolving increasingly urgent social problems in conditions of increasing democratization and glasnost.

M. Orzechowski stated that his meeting with M.S. Gorbachev had been of great importance for the whole range of interstate relations between Poland and the USSR and the strengthening of their friendship and all-around cooperation. These relations have now become increasingly dynamic and deep. An important role in this is played by the new forms of economic ties, production and scientific cooperation, and direct contacts between industrial enterprises and scientific organizations. The basis of the success achieved in the development of Polish-Soviet ties, the minister stressed, is the close collaboration between the PZPR and the CPSU. We intend to strengthen and expand that collaboration in the interests not only of the Polish and Soviet peoples but of all the socialist community.

The minister visited the V.I. Lenin memorial museum in the Smolnyy Institute and laid flowers at the monument to the leader of the Great October Revolution by the historic building.

The guest viewed the monument to the heroic defenders of the city on Victory Square and laid flowers by its groups of sculptures.

In the evening M. Orzechowski returned home. He had been paying an official friendly visit to our country at the Soviet Government's invitation. He was seen off at the airport by V.Ya. Khodyrev, chairman of Leningrad Gorispolkom; V.P. Loginov, USSR deputy foreign minister; and other officials.

Visit Reviewed

PM151135 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "On the Visit of Polish Foreign Minister M. Orzechowski to the Soviet Union"]

[Text] M. Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish foreign minister, paid an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union 8 through 12 February 1988 at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, received M. Orzechowski. A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, had talks with the Polish guest.

The Polish foreign minister visited Leningrad, where he had a meeting with Yu.F. Solovyev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Leningrad CPSU Obkom first secretary.

E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, and M. Orzechowski held talks on a wide range of questions of bilateral relations and the contemporary international situation.

M. Orzechowski was familiarized in detail with the work being done in the Soviet Union at the present stage of restructuring and with the progress in fulfilling the party's decisions on implementing the radical economic reform and the profound democratization of society.

The Soviet side was briefed on the progress in realizing the second stage of the economic reform and the process of the democratization of sociopolitical life in Poland within the framework of the policy of socialist renewal and national accord.

E.A. Shevardnadze and M. Orzechowski voiced satisfaction with the dynamic, fruitful development of Soviet-Polish cooperation on the basis of mutual respect and trust, equal rights and fraternal solidarity, and close allied ties. It was emphasized that favorable conditions for introducing new, progressive forms and methods of cooperation, developing production collaboration, and

expanding the exchange of experience of socialist building are being created by the consistent implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress and 10th PZPR Congress decisions and the accords reached during meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski. The implementation of the declaration on Soviet-Polish cooperation in the spheres of ideology, science, and culture, signed at the highest level in April 1987, is having an increasingly profound impact on the development of ties in the spiritual sphere.

The ministers pointed out that the upcoming visit of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to Poland will be of particularly great significance for further strengthening the bonds of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the PZPR and between the USSR and Poland.

During the talks great attention was devoted to questions of further improving cooperation within the Warsaw Pact framework. The Multilateral Current Mutual Information Group and the Special Commission on Disarmament Questions, which have been set up in line with the decisions of the Political Consultative Committee's Berlin conference and have successfully begun their work in Warsaw, are intended to make a weighty contribution to elaborating the allied states' specific proposals aimed at strengthening stability, security, and cooperation inside and outside Europe. The sides consider it important to organize still closer coordination of the allied states' actions with a view to achieving a fundamental turning point in world affairs.

The talks showed the sides' complete unanimity in assessing the present international situation. The ministers noted with satisfaction that the new political thinking is making headway and contributing to the perception of the modern world through the prism of interests common to all mankind and of the need for joint struggle against the threat of the destruction of life on earth.

Emphasis was placed on the historic significance of the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which convincingly confirmed the realistic nature of the program advanced by the Soviet Union 15 January 1986 for the phased elimination of mass destruction weapons before the end of this century. The ministers agreed that the paramount task at present is to draft and conclude a treaty between the USSR and the United States on a 50-percent reduction in their strategic arms while observing the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and adhering to it for an agreed term.

It was stated that the plans being drawn up within NATO to "compensate" for the U.S. nuclear missiles to be eliminated by modernizing and building up nuclear and conventional arms in Europe and in regions adjacent to it are incompatible with the interests of European and world security.

The USSR and Poland consider it necessary to achieve real results as soon as possible at the Soviet-U.S. talks on limiting and ending nuclear weapon tests. They also advocated the more active involvement of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament in resolving the problem of a total nuclear test ban.

While noting the considerable progress made at the Geneva talks on banning and eliminating chemical weapons, the ministers voiced profound concern in connection with the recent lack of progress. The hope was voiced that the United States and France will take a constructive stand at those talks. As for the USSR and Poland, they will continue to do everything in their power so the Disarmament Conference can finish drafting a convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons as soon as possible.

The sides believe it is particularly important now to strive for continuity and efficiency in the disarmament process and for specific accords in all areas of it. In this connection it is important to galvanize still further the work of the corresponding international forums, particularly the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

It was emphasized that the upcoming Third UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament is regarded in the USSR and Poland as an out-of-the-ordinary event. One of its basic tasks must to be to prepare a platform to accelerate practical progress in the main areas of disarmament and create an all-embracing system of international peace and security.

The ministers had an in-depth exchange of opinions on questions of security and cooperation in Europe. It was emphasized that respect for the territorial and political realities which took shape as a result of World War II and postwar development and strict observance of the universally recognized principles and norms of international law are a condition of lasting peace and security on the continent. The unshakable nature of these realities is enshrined in the corresponding multilateral and bilateral treaties and agreements, and a most resolute rebuff will continue to be given to any attempts to cast doubt on them. The sides advocated the activation of the dialogue with all West European states with a view to lowering the level of military confrontation and disarmament in Europe, developing all-around cooperation in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, and building the "all-European home."

E.A. Shevardnadze briefed his counterpart on the results of his official visit to Bonn and his meetings and talks with leading FRG representatives. In turn, M. Orzechowski informed him about the Warsaw talks between the FRG vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs and Polish leaders. The ministers welcome the FRG Government's declarations of readiness to improve and expand relations with socialist countries and expect these declarations to be backed up with actions.

The importance was emphasized of a positive outcome of the consultations in Vienna between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO aimed at the elaboration of a mandate for the talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. These talks must embrace dual-purpose means whose nuclear component could become the subject of appropriate talks in the near future.

The Soviet Union and Poland favor the elimination of the existing imbalances and asymmetries which have developed in the course of history, and they propose that the military potentials of the two military-political alliances be reduced to levels which would serve purely defensive purposes. A positive role in this could be played by consultations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO representatives on questions of comparing the military doctrines of the two alliances and the states which belong to them. Here the USSR and Poland reaffirm their adherence to the fundamental Warsaw Pact line advocating the dissolution of military alliances, the dismantling of foreign military bases on other people's territories, and the return to within their national borders of all forces deployed abroad.

The Warsaw Pact member states' Budapest Appeal and other initiatives of the allied states aimed at lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe have created real opportunities for substantial arms cuts in the continent including, above all, the means of surprise attack. Note was made of the importance of the proposals contained in the "Jaruzelski Plan," whose implementation would serve the improvement of the military-political atmosphere in Europe and promote the disarmament process. The Soviet side reiterated its full support for this plan.

The USSR and Poland will seek to achieve accords on the whole range of political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian questions under discussion at the Vienna CSCE participants' meeting. This forum must end with weighty results which will advance the all-European process in all spheres and contribute to raising it to a qualitatively new level. The sides favor the convocation in Moscow of an all-European conference on humanitarian questions. They are convinced that the holding of such a conference would be conducive to shifting humanitarian problems into the channel of cooperation.

Traditionally the USSR and Poland pay much attention in their foreign policy efforts to questions of security in the north of Europe. The Soviet side noted Poland's vigorous efforts in the cause of the development of businesslike, good-neighborly cooperation with Baltic states. The ministers noted that favorable conditions now exist for transforming the Baltic Sea into a zone of peace and cooperation.

M. Orzechowski declared full support for the Soviet initiatives put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's Murmansk speech. It was noted that the Murmansk program must be regarded as an important integral part of the development of the all-European process. The USSR and Poland expressed their readiness to discuss all problems pertaining to the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the northern region with interested states. The sides take the view that it would be desirable to discuss questions of the limitation of military activities in the waters washing the shores of the region and the extension to these waters of confidence-building measures at the second stage of the conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

During discussion of the situation in other parts of the world the determination was expressed to contribute actively to a peaceful settlement of existing crisis situations and the elimination of hotbeds of military confrontation throughout the world.

On behalf of the Polish leadership M. Orzechowski expressed full support for the new important initiative—the accord between the Governments of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan on setting a specific date for the beginning of the pullout of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and its completion within a 10-month period—as a major step aimed at the political settlement of the Afghan problem. Poland is ready to use the opportunities at its disposal to contribute to the establishment of peace on Afghan soil.

The USSR and Poland noted with satisfaction the positive results of the work of the 42d UN General Assembly Session and above all the support for the socialist countries' initiative to create a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

The talks, which passed in their traditionally cordial and comradely atmopshere, demonstrated once again a complete unity of views on all the questions discussed.

The ministers signed an agreement between the Governments of the USSR and Poland on the establishment and activities of a Polish information and cultural center in the Soviet Union.

M. Orzechowski conveyed to E.A. Shevardnadze an invitation from the Polish Government to pay an official friendly visit to Poland. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

Further on Visit

LD121704 Moscow TASS in English 1617 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—The ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR and Poland have expressed satisfaction with the fruitful development of Soviet-Polish cooperation. The communique issued today on the results of the official friendly visit of Marian Orzechowski, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic, notes

that much attention was devoted in the course of the talks to questions pertaining to a further perfection of mutual cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty.

The history-making significance was stressed of signing the treaty between the USSR and the USA on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. It was stressed that the plans being drawn up in NATO for a "compensation" for the U.S. nuclear missiles to be eliminated through a modernisation and build-up of nuclear and conventional weapons in Europe and the areas adjoining it are incompatible with the interests of European and universal security.

The ministers noted the considerable progress made at the Geneva talks on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons, and expressed deep concern about the lack of progress recently. Hope was expressed the USA and France would take a constructive stand at these talks.

The ministers carried out an extensive exchange of views on questions of security and cooperation in Europe. It was stressed that respect for territorial-political realities, which shaped as a result of the second world war and the post war development, strict observance of the generally-recognized norms of international law are a prerequisite for lasting peace and security in Europe. The sides declared for envigorating the dialogue with all the West European nations on reducing the level of military confrontation and disarmament in Europe, development of all-round cooperation in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.

The importance was stressed of a positive completion of the consultations in Vienna between the Warsaw Treaty member states and NATO in order to draw up a mandate for talks on a cut in the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The Soviet Union and Poland declare for the elimination of the disbalances and assymetries which have historically shaped and proposed that the military potentials of the two military-political alliances be reduced to the levels that would serve purely defensive aims. A positive role in that could be played by consultations between representatives of the Warsaw Treaty organization and NATO on questions of comparing the military doctrines of the two alliances and the states participating in them. The importance was stressed of the proposal contained in the "Jaruzelski Plan", whose implementation would serve towards an improvement of the military-political situation in Europe, contribute towards the disarmament process. The sides favour the convocation in Moscow of an all-European conference on humanitarian issues.

In their foreign policy efforts, the USSR and traditionally devote much attention to security the north of Europe. The ministers noted t favourable conditions have shaped for turning the Sea into a zone of peace and cooperation.

On behalf of the Polish leadership Marian Orzech declared his full support for the new important tive—the accord between the Governments of th and the Republic of Afghanistan on fixing a time-frame for the start of withdrawal of the troops from Afghanistan and its completion w period of ten months as a major step directed political settlement of the Afghan issue.

Messner Addresses Sejm on Reform's Resu

LD111452 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw February 11 TASS—Problems in c tion with the implementation of the second s economic reform, which are important for P future, are under discussion at the current Polish session. Attending the session are Wojciech Jaruz first secretary of the Central Committee of the P United Workers Party, president of the Polish Cou State, and other Polish leaders.

In his report on the activities of the Polish Gove and its objectives for 1988, Zbigniew Messner, ch of the Polish Council of Ministers, said that Pol entered the current year already with specific achieved due to the implementation of the pro of the second stage of the reform. Since October la 30 targets of the programme have been fully m decisions have been prepared for another 21 Specific measures have been outlined for resolv most important problems of socio-economic life, them a revision of the laws of the prices, the princ setting up the system of remuneration of lab enterprises, a change in the taxation policy, on ou measures to resolve the housing problem and im the situation in the health protection and edu systems.

The head of the Polish Government noted the connection between the economic reforms in Pola restructuring of public life, ensuring more democ

Zbigniew Messner pointed out the great significa the development of Soviet-Polish relations of the ration on Soviet-Polish cooperation in the field of ogy, science and culture, establishing ties between prised, institutes and the academies of sciences.

MSZMP's Lakatos Makes Official Visit

LD140126 Budapest MTI in English 1644 GMT 14 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 13 (MTI)—Erno La head of department at the Central Committee Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, paid an offici

to the Soviet Union on February 12-13 at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. Erno Lakatos held talks with Yuriy Skliarov, head of the Agit-Prop department at the CPSU CC, and other senior staff members of the CC on topical issues of inter-party cooperation, tasks in ideology and mass communication, and experiences in perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union. Erno Lakatos attended a meeting of Hungarian communists working in Moscow and briefed them on topical political issues. The Hungarian politician exchanged views with the TV, radio, news agency and press correspondents accredited to the Soviet Union on the ways of presenting the sweeping changes taking place in the Soviet Union for the Hungarian society.

Hungary Fights To Strengthen Western Trade Ties

PM101449 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "Mutual Advantage"]

[Text] Budapest, 3 Feb—For many years now Hungary has been holding talks with many European capitalist countries: Let us trade without discriminatory measures.

More than 20 percent of Hungary's foreign trade is with Common Market countries. In the last 5-year period exports were worth approximately $1.6-1.7 billion per year and imports more than $2 billion. But nearly 300 separate types of Hungarian industrial and agricultural products are subject to discriminatory restrictions, mainly for political rather than economic reasons. The "textile," "meat," and "wheat" wars that the EEC and the United States have been waging since the beginning of the eighties constantly affect Hungary's interests as well.

Since 1973 Hungary has been a member of GATT. Together with Canada, Australia, Argentina, Brazil, and another 14 countries in the organization, it is fighting to strengthen the norms of international trade that existed formerly and to widen ties. On terms of mutual advantage the Hungarian side, while upholding its own principles, is prepared at the same time to limit its own exports if the export of certain items creates problems for the importing country. Examples to the FRG, where there are vast stocks, or wine to southern France.

The international economic climate is an objective reality and it must be taken into account, Hungarian economic managers and economists believe, as they gear enterprises to produce competitive products.

West Europe

Britain's Foreign Minister Howe Visits Moscow

Paper Expresses 'Hope'

PM141849 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 3

["On the Visit to the Soviet Union by Sir Geoffrey Howe, UK Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In the Soviet Union, the hope is expressed that the visit by Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs G. Howe will promote the development of political dialogue and mutually advantageous cooperation between the USSR and Great Britain, which received a new boost following the Soviet-British summit in Moscow in March 1987 and the conversation between the two countries' leaders at Brize Norton in December 1987.

Met by Shevardnadze

LD142011 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 14 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—Geoffrey Howe, British secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, arrived here today for an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

At the airport he was met by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, as well as other officials. The welcoming party included Leonid Zamyatin, Soviet ambassador to Britain, and Bryan Cartledge, British ambassador to the USSR.

Talks With Shevardnadze

LD152009 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—Negotiations were held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry today between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, and British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, on an official visit in the Soviet Union.

The ministers exchanged views in a constructive and frank spirit concordant with the general mood of Soviet-British relations on the present-day situation around the world and the possibilities of strengthening international peace and security.

They discussed thoroughly and in an interested way questions of deepening political dialogue between the two countries and expanding diverse bilateral cooperation.

The negotiations confirmed that the two sides assessed the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as an historic landmark along the path of reducing the level of nuclear confrontation and strengthening strategic stability and favoured its earliest ratification.

The Soviet side emphasized that the treaty, having shown the entire world the realistic character of the task of eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000, not only paved the way for radical cuts in strategic offensive

armaments, but also created a qualitatively new psychological atmosphere in East-West relations and facilitated conditions for transition from military rivalry to peaceful cooperation.

The conclusion of the INF Treaty thus became a first major step in the cause of real disarmament, a basis for subsequent agreements and a point of reference on the road towards a safe, nuclear-weapon free world.

Howe highly assessed the treaty but, at the same time, repeated London's well-known arguments in favour of retaining and modernizing part of nuclear arsenals as a "guarantor" of peace and security.

Howe's attention was drawn to dangerous consequences of the plans of the so-called compensatory buildup of arms in Europe, which was fraught with a new spiral of the arms race and destabilization of the situation.

It was extremely important now to press for continuity and irreversibility of the process of disarmament and prevent pauses between agreements reached and those yet to be attained.

With regard to possible further steps in the field of disarmament, the ministers stated that the foreign policy priorities determined by the two sides for themselves largely coincided:

—Reduction by half of the strategic offensive arms of the United States and the Soviet Union while observing the ABM Treaty for an agreed upon period in the form it was signed in 1972,

—Elimination of chemical weapons,

—Reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe.

The sides analyzed the state of affairs at the talks on the prohibition and total elimination of chemical weapons. The ministers positively assessed the experience of cooperation between the USSR and Great Britain in that important area.

The present-day situation, however, called for resolute efforts in order to overcome the remaining difficulties. The Soviet side emphasized that the task of banning chemical weapons and eliminating all their stockpiles facing the negotiations in Geneva did not go along with the production of a new more refined variety of such weapons, binary munitions, and the talk of retaining a "safety margin."

The Soviet stance was clear and consistent—there should be no place on earth for these barbaric weapons.

The sides discussed the problems of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and working out a mandate for relevant talks. A mutual interest was confirmed in achieving a balance at a lower level.

The Soviet Union is prepared for an early solution to the issue by removing the existing imbalances and asymmetries on the basis of reciprocity, most stringent verification, and exchanges of essential data.

Stronger trust and greater openness and predictability in the military field would be facilitated by the Warsaw Treaty and NATO comparing their military doctrines.

The ministers reaffirmed the commitment of their countries to the goals of cooperation in Europe and their interest in furthering it, which would be helped by a productive outcome of the CSCE followup meeting in Vienna.

The issues of human rights were discussed in a principled manner. Howe's attention was called to a proposal for a humanitarian conference in Moscow.

The forum could be used to thoroughly examine all humanitarian aspects of the Helsinki Final Act and reveal the strong and weak points in its fulfillment by all the participating countries, with a view to reaching practical deicsions that would lead to improvements in this field.

In this connection Shevardnadze expressed concern over the fact, which is widely admitted by the West European public, that there is a considerable number of political prisoners in Ulster's jails, who are kept behind bars under the pretext of the need to fight terrorism.

The sides agreed to continue their discussions of issues related to cooperation in the humanitarian field.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that the international situation now is more conducive than ever before to dynamically advancing the Helsinki process in every area, and is prepared to continue working constructively to achieve practical solutions to the problems that have piled up in the common European home. Their resolution calls for joint efforts by European countries which can set a good example to nations in other continents as well.

As opinions on ways of settling regional conflicts were exchanged, note was taken of the shared understanding that the search for solutions to these problems should be conducted collectively and by political means. The advisability of this is indicated by the experience of interaction in the U.N. Security Council on the Iran-Iraq conflict and by growing support in the world for the idea of convening an international conference on the Middle East.

A straightforward and candid exchange of views was held on the Afghan problem. Shevardnadze called the British foreign secretary's attention to the fact that the ever stronger process of national reconciliation, the progress made at Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, and the announcement by the Soviet Union of a specific time-frame for the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan have created all the necessary conditions for the settlement agreements to be signed at the earliest date. It is important that the sides display maximum responsibility and good will. Those who really are for a peaceful settlement should confirm this by deed rather than by word.

The ministers noted with content that political dialogue, whose key directions and tone have been set at the meetings of the leaders of the two countries, has become the most important factor of Soviet-British relations.

Exchanges of opinions over recent years have acquired the nature of a constructive search and been frank, intense and straightforward. A solid infrastructure has been laid down for working contacts which not only help to identify common or similar positions, but also lead to interaction and bring practical results.

The ministers approved a comprehensive plan for Soviet-British political consultations in 1988, which has been prepared by the foreign ministries of the two countries and aims to lend these consultations a more systematic and regular nature.

Shevardnadze and Howe examined a number of issues connected with bilateral Soviet-British contacts. It was pointed out that over a comparatively short period since the Soviet-British summit in Moscow it has proved possible together to do much for the benefit of relations between the two countries.

The memorandum on new areas of cooperation in the fields of information, culture and education, which was signed in Moscow in March 1987, has begun to yield the first desired results.

In conclusion Shevardnadze and Howe expressed mutual satisfaction with their talks, which contributed to better mutual understanding between Britain and the Soviet Union on both the more important problems of the present-day world and the practical matters of bilateral relations.

The British foreign secretary invited Shevardnadze to pay an official visit to Britain. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

After the talks a memorandum of understanding between the Soviet and British Governments was signed on cooperation in preventing the illegal production, trafficking and abuse of narcotic drugs and psychothropic preparations.

Interviewed on Talks

LD151433 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—TASS correspondent Lyudmila Shvedova reports:

Very many issues were touched upon at the Soviet-British talks which began today, stated Geoffrey Howe, British secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs. He is currently here on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Mr. Howe has said in an interview with the TASS correspondent that important regional issues, the Middle East problem, in particular, were discussed, and that there was also enough time to discuss the arms control issue.

He voiced hope that during the visit the two sides would be able to draw on a substantial improvement which had become visible in bilateral relations over the past several years. Mr. Howe said this did not mean, however, that all the existing issues could be resolved in Moscow.

This indicates that we can discuss specific ways to draw closer together in solving some of them as well as to understand in which particular fields we have got differences. I think this will be of benefit both to our two peoples and to relations between Britian and the Soviet Union, Geoffrey Howe said in conclusion.

The Soviet-British talks were continued in the afternoon.

Shevardnadze, Howe Speeches

PM161327 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Feb 88 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[TASS report under general heading "Soviet-British Talks"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze gave a luncheon in G. Howe's honor.

The officials accompanying the British foreign secretary and, on the Soviet side, A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, V.M. Kamentsev and B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the leaders of a number of ministries and departments were present.

Addressing the guest, Eduard Shevardnadze said:

"I am glad to see you in Moscow, and I recall our latest meeting at Brize Norton where the talks between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher were held.

"We all have a feeling that Brize Norton was not just a stopover on the road but the beginning of an important stage in Soviet-British relations.

It established the attainment in our politicial dialogue of the height at which it should be because of the imperatives of history and the present. The scope of the vision that you and we have of world problems, of the role and place of Soviet-British contacts in the general state of things today naturally increased.

"The question of nuclear weapons is the priority issue. We have differences of both a philosophic and practical nature. But we do not at all believe that they can be removed by debates. This is not a discussion of recipes of health foods. The problem of national security is involved in this for you and for us. Any aspects of disarmament, the more so, naturally, nuclear disarmament, should be decided in the context of the security of each country and universal security.

"The British Government's support for the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and for goal of 50 percent cuts in strategic offensive arms under the conditions of compliance with the ABM Treaty is indicative of its stand in favour of nuclear disarmament.

"The British side holds a specific view of ways to ensure European security and of the role being played in this by nuclear arms in general and by British nuclear forces, in particular. As we see, the British view is based not on fetishizing nuclear arms but on a definite interpretation of the existing realities and idea of the nature and degree of potential threat.

"The purpose of the Soviet-British dialogue should be, in our view, precisely to gain, as far as possible, an objective understanding of both the realities of the situation and of each other's intentions.

"Widely known is the ancient Greek myth about the "rape of Europa." We are against all "rapes," the more so as we are part of Europe. In the language of politics, this means that the Soviet Union is far from being an advocate of upsetting Europe's traditional cross-Atlantic ties, and does not encroach upon the traditional Anglo-Saxon component of relations between Britain and the United States. Our efforts are aimed at overcoming the split of Europe, and at furnishing and strengthening the all-European home. In this connection we would like to emphasize that the Soviet Union does not suggest eliminating nuclear arms in isolation from cuts in other weapons of destruction.

"Chemical weapons, say, are on a par with nuclear weapons in our priorities. From any point of view, we oppose chemical weapons no less than we do nuclear ones. From the viewpoint of the Europeans, chemical weapons look particularly unacceptable. It is justifiable to speak of all-European solidarity in this respect. For these weapons are, perhaps, the only weapon of mass destruction most probably intended for use in the area from the Atlantic to the Urals. It will not be used across the ocean. There is no military meaning in that.

"Incidentally, both binary artillery shells and Bigeye air bombs are in store for the Europeans. If one may speak of the disengagement of Europe from the United States, then binary weapons, in our judgement, precisely mark the boundary line between the interests of the United States and its European allies. It is not an imaginary boundary line but one inherent in the capabilities of these weapons and their delivery vehicles.

"We welcome the fact that our two countries closely cooperate in matters concerning the elaboration of an international convention banning chemical weapons, and act at the disarmament conference from close and politically and technically compatible positions.

"In the spirit of this cooperation, we would like frankly to tell you, Mr Secretary of State, that the U.S. decision on the production of binary weapons looks like a deliberate attempt at provoking the Soviet Union to counter steps in the field of chemical weapons.

"Such actions of the U.S. side are directed towards undermining what was done in Geneva through joint efforts. Very much was done there. We are virtually standing half a step away from agreeing upon a convention on chemical weapons. The binary sabotage, and it cannot be described in any other way, may push us away from the convention and to a new spiral of the chemical arms race.

"A unique situation has also taken shape now from the viewpoint of possibilities to solve the issue concerning conventional arms and the armed forces in Europe. Literally everyone comes out in favour of lowering the levels of confrontation in this sphere".

"Everybody agrees, likewise, that asymmetries and imbalances giving rise to anxiety should be eliminated in the process of reduction and movement to lower levels.

"Honestly speaking, we are amazed at the ability of our partners to consider our stand on conventional forces in Europe, listen to our explanations, and even analyse every aspect of what we propose and then arrive at the conclusion that there exists some gap. We suggest a clear-cut and simple formula: Let us talk about every kinds of arms, every weapon system that can function as a conventional armament. This, naturally, applies also to so-called dual use systems. We do not suggest discussing their nuclear components now. We propose that this be done separately and at a later stage.

"Even tanks can serve as a dual use system. The Western side does not think, however, that they should remain outside the framework of the talks. If so, what prevents us from working out a mandate in Vienna and starting the talks on conventional forces on its basis?

"We cannot but get an impression that somebody needs an impasse in working out this mandate in order to implement another mandate, an invented one, on so-called compensations, in other words, on conventional arms build-up. If this is so, there is no need to pretend that the reduction of conventional forces is being sought. Then there would be more confidence in each other.

"I would like to mention another thing. Britain, as perhaps no other country, knows the value of naval armaments and also the transient nature of the rule on high seas. In view of this, we would expect the British side to be aware of the importance of limiting the arms race on high seas.

"Bearing all this in mind, we would like to urge you to take an unbiased view of Mikhail Gorbachev's Murmansk initiative. The north of Europe is the area where you and we live, and the situation there, the prospects for its transformation are, naturally, of interest for both our countries.

"It goes without saying that our dialogue has never been limited to security problems and European affairs. Problems of worldwide humanitarian cooperation and care for the settlement of regional conflicts have always been present in it. We regard as a positive aspect for our relations, too, the fact that the importance of the recent statement of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev on Afghanistan is realised in London. It is not accidental that this theme is among the most important items on the agenda of our talks, Mr Secretary of State.

"We deem it necessary to note the substantial improvement in the nature and essence of the Soviet-British dialogue on all aspects of humanitarian cooperation and human rights.

"The atmosphere in Soviet-British relations is gradually changing for the better.

"In the history of our relations, there was quite a prolonged period when 'weather' in them was determined by business people who were the first to establish contacts and cooperation between our two countries. But we welcome the fact that now scientists, cultural personalities, and creative intellectuals increasingly often act as plenipotentiary delegates of our two countries.

"This has also been confirmed by the memorandum, which was signed during the Soviet-British summit meeting in spring last year, on new directions of cooperation in the fields of information, culture and education. It is called upon to give a qualitatively new dimension to this cooperation and to give scope to mutual trust.

"In conclusion, I would like to emphasize: The history of Soviet-British relations invariably confirmed that when we pooled our efforts during the war years and in peace time we succeeded in achieving a great deal. We are confident that nowadays, at the time of changes, this is the only right course for the development of relations between our two countries and among the peoples around the world."

In conclusion, Eduard Shevardnadze wished peace and prosperity to Geoffrey Howe, other British guests, and all British people, and called for the development of mutual understanding between the two countries and for expansion of versatile cooperation.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1820 GMT on 15 February carries a report on Shevardnadze's luncheon for Geoffrey Howe, which adds the following: "Present were officials accompanying the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, and on the Soviet side: A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, V.M. Kamentsev and B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the heads of a number of USSR ministries and departments."]

Speaking at the luncheon with a reply speech, Geoffrey Howe said:

"My first visit here as foreign secretary was in 1984. Since then, a program of reforms has begun in the Soviet Union which has caught the attention of the world. You have begun to look critically at areas of dogma that your leaders acknowledge have remained unchallenged for too long. 'New thinking' is proclaimed as the order of the day.

The creativity of the Soviet people has been pent up for too long. We know what you can do. We treasure your great poets, novelists and musicians. We remember your great courage and fortitude in the war. We admire achievements such as your space program.

Yet something is missing. Why are there no Soviet goods in our shops? Why no modern novels or television programs? For that matter, why are there no British goods in your department stores? To the outside observer, it seems that ideological rigidities have had much to do with this. But now we see signs that the logjam may be shifting.

Despite the great differences in our economic structures, many of the instruments of change turn out to be the same in both our countries:

—More individual initiative;

—More decentralized decision-making;

—More market mechanisms in the economy.

For us these basic tools of economic management reflect fundamental human values. They give the individual greater responsibility in shaping his own life and his environment. That is why we welcome and encourage them.

It is easy to see why you should want perestroyka to succeed. It is not so obvious why the West should want it to work.

The answer to that looks simple enough. A more open Soviet Union should be one that we can know better, one that is more predictable, one that we can trust more easily.

A more prosperous Soviet Union should be less of a focus for tension and conflict. It should be a more comfortable neighbor for the rest of the world to live with.

That is the theory. But we in the West will be happier with it when we can point to concrete evidence that new thinking does in practice make the Soviet Union an easier neighbor. We know what perestroyka means for your domestic policy. But how will your external policy change? Above all, how is it changing?

The INF Treaty is important because of the number of missiles and warheads that it will eliminate. But it is important too because it shows:

—That arms reductions are possible;

—That unequal reductions can be accepted where this is necessary to achieve balance;

—That verification is vital and achievable without any threat to national security.

—We must build on this. That is why we (in the West) have a clear agenda for action on arms control.

—Item number one: nuclear weapons. The superpowers have to tackle the massive overkill of their strategic offensive forces. That is why we fully support the objective of a 50 percent cut in the strategic arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union.

A free standing start agreement would enhance strategic stability. We do not believe that any artificial linkage with the Strategic Defense Initiative should be allowed to stand in the way of this. I have noted Mr Gorbachev's confirmation that the Soviet Union has its own research program into ballistic missile defense. I believe that what is needed now is a greater measure of predictability, so that neither side is caught by surprise by new developments.

Item number two: conventional forces. Conventional arms control goes to the heart of Western Europe's security concerns. What do our peoples see when they look East? They see a geographically integrated Warsaw Pact, while the NATO allies are divided by a massive ocean. They see Soviet pressure for a nuclear-free Europe, which in reality means a nuclear-free Western Europe, with our Eastern neighbors still in possession of a large mobile nuclear arsenal, in addition to your preponderance in conventional and chemical weapons. Above all, they see Soviet forces deployed hundreds of miles to the west of the Soviet frontier, with capabilities directed at surprise, fire-power and rapid capture of territory.

They also see the Soviet Union refusing even to acknowledge the existence of her massive superiority in conventional armaments. This has blocked the way to progress in the MBFR. It has a huge impact on how Western public opinion views the Soviet Union. We publish our defense figures every year. You do not publish yours. Why not?

What we are looking for is a real willingness to bring conventional forces into balance at lower levels and to ensure that these levels are honestly and effectively verified.

Agenda item three: chemical weapons. A global and verifiable ban is within sight but remains obstinately beyond grasp.

There are real technical problems about effective verification. Many chemical agents can be produced relatively easily and cheaply. Equipment designed for other purposes can easily be converted to their production. It is a formidable task to find a way to be certain that all concerned are playing fair.

The Soviet Union, of course, knows the technical problems as well as we do. That is why we are puzzled by Soviet suggestions that the problems have all been solved and that the only remaining obstacle is Western unwillingness to sign up.

We welcome the Soviet Government's recent acknowledgement, for the first time, that you hold 50,000 tonnes of chemical weapons. We welcome the willingness of the Soviet Union to put on display at Shikhany the chemical weapons of the forties and fifties. But these welcome fragments of openness prompt new questions. Why so much past denial? Why no evidence of what you have been doing in the last 3 decades? How can we be confident that 50,000 tonnes is the whole truth?

We look to your new thinking to bring full candor and renewed purpose to your efforts. Our own efforts to achieve a global ban will not slacken.

That is our agenda for action. I must also mention one subject not on that agenda. At Reykjavik on 12 October 1986, Mr Gorbachev unequivocally withdrew the question of French and British missiles from the agenda of the talks on intermediate nuclear forces and clearly admitted at the same time that they would be improved.

Britain welcomed that realistic statement. So did France.

The fact is that for the foreseeable future Britain will continue to need a minimum deterrent to guarantee its security. A minimum deterrent is exactly that. Decreasing it would mean it was no longer a deterrent at all. And to be effective it must be maintained, and kept up to date.

No one should mistake this for passionate attachment to nuclear weapons for their own sake. Nuclear weapons are a means to an end, and that end is peace. We are convinced that nuclear deterrence has kept Europe free of war for more than forty years. That is why we attach so much importance to our own deterrent.

New thinking has also to make an impact upon other issues of which the countries of the world need Soviet cooperation. I choose two regional problems as examples.

The first is the war between Iran and Iraq. In September last year, I told the General Assembly of the United Nations that this war menaced the stability of the entire region. I stressed the overriding need for the five permanent members to work together as the motor of action by the whole Security Council.

And you, Mr. Shevardnadze, agreed.

We now need to secure the implementation of Resolution 598. The first step is an arms embargo resolution. Useful preparatory work has been done in New York. I hope the Soviet Union will put its full weight behind this effort to end the conflict.

My second example is Afghanistan. I have acknowledged on many occasions the evidence we have seen of new thinking in Moscow about this bloody war. Last week we were glad to welcome Mr. Gorbachev's very important statement. This has opened the way to a further, and we hope final, round of UN talks in Geneva. We warmly welcome your commitment to withdraw. The West has no interest in making it more difficult for you to bring your troops home.

But we want to see evidence that your good intentions about Afghanistan will be put into practice. More than one-third of the Afghan people are now forced to live as refugees in neighboring countries. One crucial test of your new thinking will be their willingness to return home.

We look to the Soviet Union to help facilitate the emergence of a genuinely representative government in Kabul. That would indeed convince the West that new thinking is more than an intellectual exercise and can bring real benefits.

When our peoples see the Soviet Union exerting itself seriously and constructively on more of these problems, they may begin to look eastward with less suspicion and more confidence. The same applies to human rights.

In a world where technology and travel are fast breaking down the frontiers between nations, it is not in the interests of the Soviet people to cut yourselves off. East and West cannot grow together unless their peoples can meet in equal terms and exchange ideas.

That is why we attach such importance to the fulfillment of the international obligations that we have both freely accepted, from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 to those we undertook in Helsinki in 1975.

The Soviet Union is a world superpower. Your cultural traditions are strong. You have nothing to fear from free circulation of newspapers, journals and books from whatever quarter, or films, radio and television. Let us have more glasnost in the exchange of ideas.

I have spoken very frankly today but with absolute sincerity.

The message I want to leave you with is that we in the West are both determined and ready. We are determined, like you, to maintain our own security. But we are ready to do so, when we safely can, on the basis of greater confidence and fewer arms. We are ready also to recognize the important changes you are making at home, and ready to recognize them too, when we see them happening, in your policy abroad. We are ready finally to improve and to enlarge our relationship with the Soviet Union.

I believe that the opportunities for a better world are there if you are willing to join us in taking them. The future is in our own hands. Let us be determined, together, to shape it for the better", Geoffrey Howe said in conclusion.

The luncheon took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Belitskiy Comments on Visit

LD151616 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] The British Foreign secretary, Sir Goeffrey Howe, arrived here in Moscow on Sunday, and began his talks with the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, on Monday. Boris Belitskiy provides a background to this visit:

[Belitskiy] Coming as it does barely 2 months after the Soviet-British top-level meeting in Brize Norton, this new meeting in Moscow is yet another sign of how brisk and busy Soviet-British relations have now become. As Mikhail Gorbachev said during his meeting with Margaret Thatcher at Brize Norton on his way to Washington in December, people in the Soviet Union expect these exchanges to help us to move forward along the road of reshaping international relations through better and deeper cooperation and mutual understanding.

In a dispatch from London on the eve of Sir Geoffrey's departure for Moscow, the French news agency reported that the main topics on this agenda on his agenda would be Afghanistan and Britain's commitment to disarmament. The agency quoted Foreign Office officials as saying that the visit was very timely, since it came shortly after an important statement on Afghanistan, exactly a week ago, has been widely welcomed as offering a unique opportunity to achieve a speedy settlement. In his statement, Mikhail Gorbachev said the pull-out of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan could begin by 15th May, and be completed in 10 months, provided Afghanistan and Pakistan completed their negotiations and signed agreements by the 15th March.

What is most important in these circumstances, it has been stated in Moscow repeatedly, is that all countries help to bring about such a settlement and do nothing to obstruct it. In this context, with the contours of a settlement now clearly visible, continued British supplies of Blowpipe antiaircraft missiles and other war equipment to the antigovernment forces in Afghanistan would be an act adding fuel to the flames of the fighting, rather than a contribution to extinguishing those flames. The present, unique opportunity for reaching a settlement must not be missed.

On disarmament, Foreign Office officials in London were quoted by the French news agency as saying that Sir Goeffrey would reemphasize Britain's priorities in the post-INF era, that is in the period following the dismantling of all intermediate range nuclear missiles, as agreed under the Soviet-American INF Treaty concluded in December. These priorities are said to be 50 percent cuts in the strategic arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States, the elimination of what is termed an imbalance in conventional forces in Europe, and a ban on chemical weapons.

As far as a 50 percent reduction of strategic arsenals is concerned, the outlines of such an agreement are gradually taking shape in Geneva, and the INF Treaty has proved such an agreement to be possible. The Soviet Union, which exactly 25 months ago advanced a program for the phased elimination of all nuclear weapons, is certainly for such an agreement, but as President Reagan once said it takes two to tango. However, if one seeks to circumvent the future agreement by pressing ahead in other areas of the arms race such as outer space, one can hardly avoid being out of step and even stepping on his partner's toes, and what sort of a tango is that? As for Britain, by choosing this period of delicate disarmament talks to go ahead with a five-fold expansion of its onw nuclear arsenal, with submarine-launched multiple warhead Trident missiles, she would certainly be rendering a disservice to disamament efforts.

Turning to reductions of conventional arms, the Soviet Union has repeatedly expresed its readiness to negotiate such cuts, but the initial premises for such cuts must be fair. Although there are definite asymmetries in East-West conventional arms in Europe, there are no overall imbalances, and the latest of many confirmations of this has just come from no other than Senator Carl Levin of Michigan, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee in the United States. In his report to the committee, he concludes that in Europe there is a balance of conventional forces.

Finally, on chemical arms, too, the Soviet Union has repeatedly voiced its readiness to negotiate a comprehensive ban and it has expressed its appreciation of Britain's efforts in this direction. But the United States' decision to go ahead with the manufacture of its Bigeye chemical weapon, and its refusal to accept thorough verification as a safeguard against cheating have come as major setbacks to progress in this field.

In conclusion, let me add that [Sir] Geoffrey's visit to Moscow has come at a time of rapidly expanding exchanges in all fields, as I was reminded just the other night, as I sat glued to my television set watching yet another episode of David Attenborough's fascinating series "Life on Earth."

Commentary on Stationing of More F-111's in UK

LD142208 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 14 Feb 88

[Boris Andrianov commentary]

[Text] According to THE SUNDAY TIMES, Thatcher's government is prepared to station an additional 40 to 60 F.111 U.S. strategic bombers on the British Isles. They are capable of carrying nuclear weapons, including air launched cruise missiles. Here is a Mayak commentary; Boris Andrianov is at the microphone.

[Andrianov] Today F-111 U.S. bombers are stationed in Britain. It now looks like their number is to be increased by approximately one third. Meanwhile, a fairly significant factor should be taken into account: If launched from the British Isles, these combat aircraft are capable of flying to the borders of European socialist countries, including the Soviet Union. Why is official London prepared to take a step like this, which will mean a sharp increase in the strategic delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons on the European Continent? The British press suggests a version according to which the British Government is forced to do that by the United States, which sees this step as a compensation for the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear weapons stipulated by the Soviet-U.S. accord.

In one word, it seems that the active part in all this is played solely by the United States, which is imposing its will upon the British Government. Undoubtedly, former Washington representatives have been acting with particular zeal in Western Europe. They are doing their utmost to revive the notorious myth of the alleged Soviet threat to the NATO member countries. Take, for example, a pronouncement by U.S. Senator Byrd, who heads a Congressional delegation which is touring West European capitals. We, Senator Byrd said, must convince the public of our countries that the Moscow threat is still in evidence. Pentagon chief Carlucci spoke in Munich in roughly the same vein. He made a statement there promoting the outdated strategy of nuclear deterrence. The U.S. secretary of defense is seconded by U.S. General Galvin, commander in chief of the NATO European joint forces. He asserts that the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles included in the Soviet-U.S. treaty brings about sizeable gaps in the defense of the North Atlantic bloc; therefore, they should be urgently mended through modernizing the nuclear arsenals that the West still has.

All statements of this sort are met not only with understanding but also support from official London and, incidentally, without any pressure from Washington. This is not surprising because Margaret Thatcher, head of the current Tory cabinet, is one of the most staunch opponents of the program envisaging the total elimination of nuclear arms by the year 2000. It is precisely because of this that the British prime minister is striving so stubbornly to halt the process of nuclear disarmament in Europe and at the same time is showing readiness to compensate for future losses, in particular by planning to increase the number of F-111 bombers in Britain.

What do the plans for stationing in Europe or in the adjoining seas and oceans additional air and sea launched nuclear weapons prove? First of all, they prove the striving of certain Western powers to achieve military superiority so that they may keep the world in a state of permament tension.

Paris-London-Bonn Nuclear Triangle Criticized

PM151705 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 88 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Bolshakov dispatch: "In the Shadow of the Dangerous 'Umbrella'"]

[Text] Paris, Feb—The orchestras played. French soldiers paraded across Les Invalides in dress uniform with plumes in their helmets. Goose-stepping along with them on the Parisian cobbles were Bundeswehr soldiers. Children cheered, threw flowers in the air, and released baloons. Politicians made speeches, laid wreaths in the usual places, and saluted the troops and the banners. That was how the leaders of France and the FRG celebrated the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Elysee Treaty of Cooperation, which marked the end of the age-old enmity between the two countries—an enmity that had boiled over into three wars since 1870, including two world wars.

The celebration of the anniversary of this treaty, signed 22 January 1963 by President de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer in the Murat Hall at the Elysee Palace (the French president's residence—V.B), was not just a tribute to the past. Many people think that the approach of 1992, which has been declared the year when the "single Europe act"—which will initiate the profound integration of the "Common Market" states—comes into force, has forced the two leaders to remember De Gaulle's legacy. He said that "the entire hope of European unification in the political, economic, and defense spheres depends" on solidarity between the FRG and France.

This statement is dated May 1962 and lacks just one thing—a frank admission that from the outset France has tried to exploit its rapprochement with the FRG to strengthen its own positions and secure the leading role in a future "unified Europe." That was the dream of De Gaulle, who understood that simply having nuclear weapons would not guarantee France the "eternal status" of great power and the independence from the United States necessary to ensure that status.

The Elysee Treaty was a kind of prototype constitution of a political "lesser Europe," an agreement on the principles of cooperation within its framework. But only 25 years later, specific bilateral interstate structures have emerged on its basis: A protocol on the creation of a Franco-West German Defense and Security Council was signed on 22 January 1988.

Almost simultaneously the decision was made to set up a joint West German-French military brigade. It was announced that it would number 4,200 men and be based in the West German hamlet of Bueblingen. The brigade will include two infantry battalions, one tank battalion, an artillery division, and a support subunit. It will be commanded by West German and French generals in turn.

Just why has the time now come to implement accords of 25 years' standing, and why was it urgently necessary, for instance, to patch together the aforementioned brigade?

P. Lellouche, associate director of the French Intenrational Relations Institute, recently wrote in NEWSWEEK that the current "military agreement" between the two countries was undoubtedly affected by the Soviet-U.S. summit and the resulting Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. He noted that it has become fashionable in French political circles to hint that France is ready to offer the FRG its own "nuclear umbrella" instead of the U.S. version.

However, the point is that this course of events inspires no enthusiasm among West Europeans. Whereas 25 years ago the Elysee Treaty, for all its incompleteness, caused a wave of alarm in a Europe rightly wary of a resurgence of German militarism and the possibility of the Bundeswehr being equipped with nuclear weapons or allowed access to the French nuclear arsenal, today this alarm is even stronger and more justified. As LE MONDE wrote, concern has even been shown in Britain and Italy.

Bearing this in mind and, clearly, recalling how in June 1963 French socialist leader Guy Mollet stated in the National Assembly that the Elysee Treaty sought to reinforce the "Paris-Bonn axis," President F. Mitterrand issued a special explanation. "There is no such thing as a Franco-German axis," he said. Chancellor H. Kohl added in turn: "We have no intention of creating a 'directorate' for Europe."

Nonetheless, despite these assurances, the fears remain. J. Chirac's recent statement that there could be no separate defense for France and the FRG was interpreted by everyone as pledging the French "nuclear umbrella" to Bonn. True, President F. Mitterrand disavowed the premier's statement, stressing that French nuclear weapons are meant exclusively for the defense of French territory. Chancellor H. Kohl recently replied to F. Mitterrand in an interview with LE MONDE. He said: "It is impossible to defend Strasbourg (a French city—V.B) without defending Karlsruhe (a city in the FRG—V.B.)."

So how will things stand with the "nuclear umbrella"? What part do the current military cooperation maneuvers between Bonn and Paris have to play in the reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe? Is the currently expedited European integration in the military sphere on a broader level aimed at promoting this process after the implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Soviet and U.S. Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, or, on the contrary, is it intended to obstruct it? There is no clear answer to that question as yet.

Speaking here at the international diplomatic academy, Foreign Minister J.-B. Raimond said that in principle France supports and approves the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, but makes no secret of its concern about its possible consequences. "The third zero option," the chief of the French Foreign Ministry dramatically announced, "is contained in the first two zero options just like a storm in a storm cloud." He explained that Paris opposes this option because it believes that it is necessary to substantially reduce Soviet and U.S. strategic arsenals before all U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe are scrapped. Such commentaries, however, do not so much explain as complicate the question of what role France intends to play in the nuclear disarmament process.

Its official position, unfortunately, is still to await the moment "when others disarm to an approproate level." Meanwhile, I note, Paris is not sitting idly by. The "5-year program" it has adopted for modernizing its armaments envisages essentially quadrupling the French nuclear arsenal. Any concern about such a buildup meets with the usual statements from officials: As long as nuclear arsenals exist in the world, France will adhere to a "deterrence" strategy that makes war impossible, and it must have all types of nuclear weapons in order to implement that strategy.

It is typical that recently this stance has been very actively supported in Bonn, too. Why? This is how the Paris-based INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE explains it. ""Many Europeans," it writes, "are scared that, having obtained the 'double zero,' [vtoroy nul] (that is, the agreement to eliminate Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe—V.B.), the USSR has thereby created a lobby in West Germany for a 'triple zero' [tretiy nul], that is, for the elimination of nuclear artillery and other battlefield nuclear weapons. This lobby could give a new boost to movements advocating the complete removal of nuclear weapons from Europe."

By the term "many Europeans" the writer of the article clearly means, of course, not the peoples of Europe—who, defending their right to life, are unanimous in agreeing that our continent must be completely rid of nuclear weapons—but those NATO circles for whom life without these weapons is simply unthinkable. These circles have become more active on both sides of the ocean particularly now that the U.S. Senate is holding hearings for the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty.

"Hawks" such as Richard Perle, for instance, quote the opinion of these circles. They were also quoted by E. Galbraith, former U.S. ambassador to France, when he talked about fears in Europe that the treaty signed in Washington would entail the "neutralization, denuclearization [deatomizatsiya], and demilitarization of West Germany," the undermining of NATO's structure, and even a threat to the bloc's very existence.

France, whether it likes it or not, is now one of the most active coparticipants in the militarist lobby in the U.S. Congress. However, it would be simplistic to reduce it position in the disarmament process merely to this. They have now already realized in principle that European, including local, opponents of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles are incapable of preventing its ratification by the U.S. Senate. For that reason they are rushing to paper over those "holes" in the "nuclear umbrella" over Europe which will be left after the implementation of that document. The recent visits by F. Mitterrand, J. Chirac, and H. Kohl to Britain explain a lot in this respect.

The participants in the Elysee Treaty, embarking on the creation of joint defense structures seemingly outside the NATO framework, now clearly want to bring Britain into these structures. Why? As a number of observers see it, Franco-West German cooperation is seen as the germ of a more extensive European defense system capable of gradually carrying out the tasks currently fulfilled within the NATO framework by the United States. It will be impossible to carry out this task without Britain's nuclear weapons. That is why the main aim of the French leaders' visits to London was to ensure the closer integration of British and French nuclear forces. In particular, it was a question of the "joint creation of a Franco-British 'air-to-ground' cruise missile, and the coordination of nuclear targets for missiles carried by the two countries' submarines."

You don't have to be an expert to realize the danger inherent in such an "allocation of duties" between these countries whose missiles are, as is known, targeted on the cities of the Soviet Union and other socialist states. If one takes into consideration here the fact that London and Paris are planning to build up their nuclear arsenals and that during this process their joint nuclear potential will increase many times over, then, under the conditions of the reductions—now charted—of the nuclear arsenals of the USSR and United States, this nuclear potential will in point of fact end up on a par with the USSR and U.S. nuclear arsenals. These plans are all the more dangerous for the cause of peace and security on our planet because in the final analysis, as the U.S. journalist J. M. Markham, writes, "the discussions within the framework of the Paris-Bonn-London triangle boil down to building a West European defense community which will remain bonded to the United States."

It is precisely for these purposes that London and Bonn are now working on their Parisian partner, trying to pursuade it to return to NATO's military structure in some form that is acceptable to France. The FRG is proposing, for instance, participation in the NATO "rapid reaction forces." Britain's mood is more resolute, and it is demanding that France "return to the NATO allied military command" from which De Gaulle withdrew France in 1966.

Alas, leading political forces in the Paris-Bonn-London military-political triangle are still thinking in terms of "nuclear deterrence" and they have no intention of joining in the process of nuclear disarmament in Europe, at least in the foreseeable future.

Political & Social

Belousov Appointed Deputy Premier

LD131514 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, 13 Feb (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet has appointed Igor Belousov as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. He has been released from the duties of USSR minister of the shipbuilding industry.

"Igor Belousov (born in 1928) graduated from the shipbuilding institute in Leningrad. He began his career in 1952 and served in various posts at the Baltic Works in Leningrad. In 1963-69 he was its chief engineer, after which he became chief engineer of the Admiralty Works.

In 1969-76 he was deputy minister and in 1976-84 he was first deputy minister of the USSR shipbuilding industry. Since January 1984 he was USSR minister of the shipbuilding Industry.

Obituary of Former Electronics Minister

PM101549 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Obituary of Aleksandr Ivanovich Shokin]

[Excerpts] Aleksandr Ivanovich Shokin, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, Twice Hero of Socialist Labor, winner of the USSR Lenin and State Prizes, former USSR minister of the electronics industry, and personal pensioner of union status, died 31 January 1988, aged 78, after a long and serious illness. [passage omitted]

In 1965 A.I. Shokin was instructed to create the Ministry of the Electronics Industry, which he headed until his retirement on pension in 1985. Under his leadership the development of a sector determining the technical progress of the economy proceeded at a high rate, large and highly skilled collectives of developers were organized, and a production base ensuring the creation of modern articles of electronic equipment was widely developed. His oustanding capabilities and skill as an engineer and organizer were fully revealed. He devoted great efforts to improving working and living conditions for working people. A.I. Shokin was marked by high party principledness and exactingness combined with a sensitive and attentive attitude to people. [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, A.A. Gromyko, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, P.N. Demichev, V.I. Dolgikh, B.N. Yeltsin, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, A.P. Biryukova, A.F. Dobrynin, A.I. Lukyanov, V.A. Medvedev, G.P. Razumovskiy, I.V. Kapitonov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, B.L. Tolstykh, G.I. Marchuk, O.S. Belyakov, O.D. Baklanov, B.M. Belousov, I.S. Belousov, N.V. Gorshkov, V.G. Kolesnikov, E.K. Pervyshin, L.D. Ryabev, A.S. Systsov, P.V. Finogenov, V.I. Shimko, V.I. Smyslov, M.S. Smirtyukov, V.M. Shabanov, S.V. Ilyushin, E.Ye. Ivanov, A.A. Inauri, A.F. Kazakov, Yu.A. Kozlov, A.G. Makarov, Ye.V. Mikhaylov, Yu.A. Raynov, M.G. Yazov, V.A. Fomin.

Dissidents Send Letter to Gorbachev

AU131539 Paris AFP in English 1455 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, Feb 13 (AFP)—A group of dissidents Saturday sent a letter to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev calling for an end to the "systematic persecution" by the KGB secret police of Lithuanian nationalists preparing to mark the 70th anniversary of Lithuanian independence on Tuesday.

The letter, a copy of which was made available to AFP, was signed by Moscow religious activist Aleksander Ogorodnikov, 10 Lithuanian militants and three Lithuanian priests.

The dissidents accused the KGB of "spreading rumours" aimed at "fuelling hatred" between Russians and Lithuanians in the tiny Baltic state, and called on Mr. Gorbachev "in the name of democracy, to stop this persecution of people" who wanted to honour their past.

"The measures against independent public opinion in Lithuania are in flagrant contradiction with the policies of openness and democratisation proclaimed by you," the letter said.

The letter expressed concern about the fate of Lithuanian dissident Nijole Sadunaite, who was beaten by KGB agents on February 6. She had been "systematically attacked in the press, and slandered," the letter said. On Friday, she was stopped by a KGB agent in Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital, by a KGB agent, who tried to drag her away, according to the statement.

The Soviet press has in the last few days launched a campaign against those seeking to mark the "so-called act of independence of bourgeois Lithuania". [passage omitted]

Police Break Up Civil Rights Protest in Moscow

AU131433 Paris AFP in English 1422 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, Feb 13 (AFP)—Police broke up a brief demonstration by seven members of several unofficial civil rights groups here Saturday, but made no arrests, a spokeswoman for the groups told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

The demonstrators in Pushkin Square called for more "glasnost" (openness) in Soviet society, Irina Krivova, a member of the Democratization, Humanism and Trust movement, said.

The groups last Wednesday asked the Krasnopresnenskaya municipal council to authorize the meeting but were refused, she added.

Tatar Demonstration in Simferopol Broken Up

LD142023 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 14 Feb 88

[Text] Extremist members of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group have tried to stage a provocative demonstration in the center of the Crimea, Simferopol. The provocation was broken up by outraged city residents. The extremists have been trying to put pressure on the commission at the Soviet legislature which is reviewing their requests and grievances.

Meanwhile, the commission has yielded some concrete results, helping to increase cultural programs for the Tatars and give more prominence to their language in literature and the media.

Crimean Tatars Demonstrate in Uzbekistan

AU142113 Paris AFP in English 2037 GMT 14 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, Feb 14 (AFP)—Some 3,500 Crimean Tatars demanding to return to their Black Sea homeland staged a three-hour demonstration Sunday in the Soviet central Asian republic of Uzbekistan, a demonstrator said.

The demonstrators were protesting the Soviet authorities' refusal to consider establishing a Tatar republic in Crimea, Dairam-Ari Filimonova told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone.

Mrs. Filimonova said the demonstrators marched peacefully through the city of Bikabad, near the Uzbeki capital of Tashkent, under the eyes of security forces, before placing flowers on a monument to Lenin.

Tatar dissident leaders claim that former Soviet leader Josef Stalin deported 400,000 Tatars from Crimea after World War II because they allegedly collaborated with the occupying German army, although Soviet authorities say only 200,000 were deported.

Last year several hundred Tatars held a series of demonstrations in Moscow to press their demand to return to the Crimea.

Estonia's Gren Addresses Press Briefing

PM121401 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Facing up to Real Problems"]

[Text] On the whole, restructuring is proceeding successfully in the Estonian SSR, but this does permit us to shut our eyes to existing real problems, A.K. Gren, Estonian minister of foreign affairs believes. He spoke to Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center 10 February.

Lately, the minister said, we have begun to focus our attention on the negative consequences of the mainly extensive development of the republic's economy. These trends, which have predominated in the last few decades, have resulted in a substantial influx of labor resources from outside the republic. The proportion of the ethnic Estonian population has decreased from 90 percent in 1940 to 62 percent at present. Measures are now being taken to effect the switch to intensive methods of management which also creates objective preconditions for a substantial reduction of unjustified migration.

Work is under way to improve the management of the republic's national economy. A decision has been adopted to halve the management apparatus and thus to undercut the social basis of bureaucracy. Thirteen ministries will be abolished.

A proposal to grant the republic greater economic independence put forward by an initiative group is now being discussed with much interest.

The minister cited the active participation of the public in the solution of ecological problems, and in particular the suspension of plans to develop phosphate deposits which could have had irreversible ecological consequences as an example of the further democratization of public life.

Alongside positive trends in economic and social life, the speaker mentioned the increased activity of extremist elements which preach nationalism and hostility toward Soviet power. There are not many of them and they receive their moral and material support from all kinds of emigre groupings and Western "radio voices." The nationalist actions are hampering real restructuring and the renewal of the social atmosphere in Estonia.

Replying to a question put by the WASHINGTON POST correspondent about "nationalist tendencies" in Estonia, A.K. Gren said that nationalist elements frequently exploit historic anniversaries of one kind or another to create an anti-Soviet ballyhoo. This was the case with the 68th anniversary of the conclusion of the peace treaty between Soviet Russia and the bourgeois Estonian republic.

The minister emphasized that no repressive measures were applied to the organizers of the various "events." As for the group of young hooligans who were given 10 days of detention for smashing store windows and disrupting public order in Tartu 2 February, this is a course of action which would have been adopted in any country.

In the near future, the minister said, the nationalists are preparing to "mark" the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of the bourgeois Estonian republic. He drew attention to the fact that during this "proclamation" the Estonian territory was actually occupied by German forces.

A.K. Gren noted that the republic's government intends to promote the development of businesslike and friendly contacts with foreign countries. External relations are expanding, primarily with our northern neighbors—Sweden and Finland.

The minister admitted that for a long time Estonian organizations had practically no contact with compatriots living abroad. The words "emigre" and "anti-Soviet" were regarded almost as synonyms. This attitude was also automatically extended to representatives of the intelligentsia, particularly writers, who had left the homeland back at the time of the German occupation during the forties. Their works, which contained no anti-Soviet statements, were not published in Estonia. According to A.K. Gren, this was a mistake. As a result, real reactionaries frequently succeeded in winning over to their side creative workers who love their motherland and want to keep in touch. We now intend to establish such ties, the minister said. They will be primarily of a cultural nature. Meetings between Estonian and emigre intelligentsia, discussions between writers, and guest performances by musicians will be organized. We favor good relations with our compatriots no matter where they live.

Estonian Activist's Arrest Reported

PM111153 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 3 Feb 88 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Estonia: Activist Arrested on Eve of Anniversary"]

[Text] Estonian civil rights activist Heiki Ahonen has been imprisoned in Tallinn. He belongs to the group which was intending to arrange a meeting yesterday evening to commemorate the peace treaty between Estonia and the Soviet Union of 2 February 1920 when Estonia became independent, Jaak Juriado, who works for the Stockholm-based Aid Center for Political Prisoners in Estonia, told TIDNINGARNAS TELEGRAMBYRA.

Ahonen was pardoned in January 1987 and released from a 5-year sentence in a hard-regime camp. The prosecutor believed that his sentence had been based upon flimsy evidence [felaktiga grunder].

Ahonen is one of the 16 civil rights activists founded a new political party under the Party for Estonia's National Independence." program, which has reached the West, the restoration of historical truth", particularly jects of the 1918 War of Liberation, Estoni independence, and the Soviet Union's a Estonia in 1940. The program also says t must be raised to the level of an official l Estonian citizenship be introduced, and t tion from other Soviet republics be reduce

Other points in the new party's program is t environmental and natural resources must that there be a gradual transition from a p omy to a market economy, that individual promoted, and that what are called normal c foreign companies be established.

Estonian Social Scientist Views Nations

PM111045 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA P in Russian 5 Feb 88 p 2

[Interview with social scientist and Candida ical Sciences K. Khallik by "our correspond rin under the rubric "'Dialogue' Political C to Build Our Common Home"; date of in given; first paragraph is KOMSOM PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Our correspondent talks with the Est scientist and Candidate of Historical Sci Khallik about restructuring in the field of [mezhnatsionalnyye] relations.

Tallinn—[Teterin] Klara Semenovna, I w begin the conversation with worrying facts already been reported by KOMSOM PRAVDA. It is a case of extremist outburst alistically minded groups in certain Estonian did these incidents become possible; are the with general problems of inter-nation rela republic?

[Khallik] Let us first agree. Our conve scarcely be thorough if we focus only on ho extremists. Believe me, they do not deserv tion—Western "radio voices" are forever ta these people. I am worried that recently we to ascribe to "nationalism" even events nothing to do with it. For example, the inci Tartu Ropka-Tamme cemetery, where Sov men's graves were defiled. We will only explanation of this crime when an investigati criminals and they are brought to trial, bu even so that the roots of the vandalism lie i degradation of certain people, and not in the inter-nation relations in our republic.

It is very important for us to understand the profound processes which are taking place in Estonian society. These processes contain the explanation for the majority of problems which now concern every person in the republic, whatever his nationality.

[Teterin] Where did the republic's difficulties in inter-nation relations arise?

[Khallik] It would be simplest of all to look for the causes elsewhere, attributing everything to acts of ideological subversion in the West. Especially as pressure from the "free" world is felt very strongly in Estonia. But let's speak honestly. We ourselves have weakened our defense against the ideological influence of our opponents.

What do I mean? The long period of stagnation and lack of democracy cannot fail to have an effect on inter-nation relations. But the saddest thing is that the conventionally optimistic approach to national affairs has become possible as a result of the fundamental revision of Leninist ideas. We have simply forgotten some of the fundamental principles of nationalities policy which Vladimir Ilich bequeathed to us.

[Teterin] Perhaps it is worth remembering these principles in order to compare them with our practice of inter-nation relations?

[Khallik] It is never too late to remember Lenin. What is the main concern in Lenin's thoughts? Back in 1916 he wrote that "a foundation—socialist production—is essential to eliminate national oppression, but the state's democratic organization, a democratic army, and so on are essential on top of this foundation." For this reason we cannot do without full democracy in all spheres for the creation of genuinely socialist national relations, Vladimir Ilich stressed.

[Teterin] How have inter-nation relations taken shape in Estonia in recent decades?

[Khallik] Well, let us see.

Let us begin with the fact that opportunities for the economy's further intensive development in the republic had been exhausted by the beginning of the seventies. But under pressure from central departments and the economic mechanism based on expenditure, we continued the old strategy of development. Manpower resources, like raw materials, were obtained from across the republic's borders. This caused a sharp change in the population's national composition. Entire territories and cities emerged where the Estonian language had practically disappeared from active usage.

Add to this the paradoxes of our housing and social policy, the frequent redistribution of social benefits without considering labor contribution...

[Teterin] But migration processes are taking place everywhere. Why did they start to offend people's national feelings in Estonia?

[Khallik] It is no secret that the migration processes have a painful effect even in a single nation environment. It is not without reason that sociologists noted the emergence of "city chauvinism" among the native Muscovites and Leningraders, whose interests often clash with the interests of newcomers. In Estonia too the feeling of national self-preservation encouraged certain groups of people to aloofness and alienation.

[Teterin] Klara Semenovna, it is very important for us to understand what is preventing these national groups from converging. The process of nations' rapprochement is a natural and logical characteristic in the state's life.

[Khallik] More than this. The convergence of nations is not only natural for our republic but is also a long-standing practice. Don't be surprised if I say to you that in this respect we are one of the most open of the country's nations. Why? Living for centuries in "Europe's cross-winds" we have been preserved as a nation thanks to the fact that we have learned to assimilate the most varied cultural influences from other nationalities, without being dissolved in them in any way. The Estonians are not particularly aloof at the personal level. Sociological polls show that more than half Estonian city dwellers have personal friendly contacts with representatives of other nationalities. The problem is to prevent the drastically altered national situation from pushing us to isolationism at a national level. We must do everything possible to avoid this danger.

Nationalistic tendencies, like chauvinist ones, are equally capable of complicating relations between people living in the same republic.

Here I must say a few words about the Russian (or rather, the Russian-speaking) population. A significant section of it is still not prepared for life in a non-Russian environment. But I will not blame the people themselves for this. Unfortunately, this unpreparedness is caused by too many real factors—our education, mass culture, and even propaganda in which stereotyped notions of the country's national life exist.

Take, for example, the problems of language. For a long time we imagined that they could only be resolved in one way—extending the public functions of the Russian language. Isn't this why a significant proportion of migrants who find themselves in a different national environment do not make the slightest effort to grasp its language?

How can we fail here to recall Lenin, who proposed, for the very purpose of consolidating internationalism, "introducing the strictest rules relating to the use of the national language in non-Russian republics included in our union and checking these rules particularly thoroughly."

I often recall the republic's public life at the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties. At that time I was working as the secretary of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee. Internationalism in young people's consciousness was for us a spiritual compass, and gave rise to open interest in life beyond the republic's borders. We traveled a lot and mixed with our contemporaries from various parts of the country. But the "acquaintance stage" in the sphere of inter-nation relations is past. Here, as in other spheres of human relations, what is needed is a higher level of relations, genuine respect, equality and democracy in relationships between the Soviet nations.

[Teterin] You must agree that a lot has changed over a short period in the republic. Now the problems of inter-nation relations are openly discussed in newspapers and journals. Practical measures are being taken to eliminate past distortions in public and social life which offended people's national feelings. How do you assess all these measures?

[Khallik] We all need to remember that the ideology of restructuring is a Leninist ideology. I do not doubt that with time we will be able to completely assert the principles of Leninist policy in the sphere of inter-nation relations. But for this we must realize right now that not one of our country's peoples is to blame in the transformation of national policy. Bureaucracy is to blame for consigning these principles to oblivion, and bureaucracy, as is well known, is not a national group but a social one.

We do not have any particular reason to dramatize the situation. The republic's Communist Party Central Committee and our government have already taken a number of important steps to correct the social policy and measures are being worked out to give major consideration to the national interests of all the population's groups. Finally, efforts have been made, for example, for the real equality of languages in public life. The teaching of Estonian in Russian schools is improving. It is planned to introduce the teaching of Estonian literature, history and geography in Russian schools during the implementation of an "alternative" educational plan.

[Teterin] Klara Semenovna, I would like to return to the subject with which our conversation began, to the extremist speeches made by certain nationalist groups. Don't you think that they discredit restructuring and make some people doubt its expediency?

[Khallik] I think that those who are urging irresponsible people to acts of hooliganism are counting on just that. The trouble is that extremist elements are not only playing into the hands of Western subversive centers. I mean the state of some of our administrators who can feel the ground slipping from under their feet because of the democratic changes. Such people are now ready to exclaim: "Here is the result for you. You've shown your weak side—reap the fruits of nationalism!"

I think that I know my people. They have always been open, they have copied a lot from other nations, and have survived enough historic upheavals. If in recent years a tendency toward national aloofness has been taking shape, then it is precisely restructuring which must eliminate the causes which have given rise to this phenomenon. There is no alternative here.

Ukrainian Politburo Examines Current Issues

AU111528 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 7 Feb 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At its session, the Politburo has approved the Kiev Gorkom and Gorispolkom's plan for organizing the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decision "On the Work of Kiev Gorkom in Implementing the 27th CPSU Congress Decisions." The plan envisages further improvements in internal party work and particularly in cadre work, the dissemination of advanced experience in party leadership in the economy, and the acceleration of scientific-technological progress. Particular attention was paid to the implementation of the social program in the City of Kiev, primarily by speeding up housing construction, improving supplies of foodstuffs and manufactured goods for the population, and improving consumer and municipal services. The main guidelines have been defined for a comprehensive development of Kiev City and Oblast.

The Central Committee Secretariat and departments, and the republic's government, have been commissioned to give the city party organization concrete assistance in deepening restructuring, speeding up socioeconomic development, and applying new methods and democratic principles of management.

Obkoms and raykoms have been instructed to take into account the tasks set forth in the CPSU Central Committee decision and, in preparing for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, to take steps to further perfect the entire organizational and political work, and to ensure restructuring and acceleration.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has summed up the results of the discussion on reports delivered by elective organs at party committee plenums and party meetings held in conformity with the decision of the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. A plan has been approved for complying with the critical remarks and proposals made at the January 1988 Plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, at the obkom, gorkom, and raykom plenums, and at the meetings of Communists held to discuss accountability reports by elective organs.

Issues connected with enrollment in the CPSU in 1987, the strengthening of party discipline, and the increased role of every Communist in ensuring restructuring have

been examined. It was noted that most party members actively participated in this work and that they advanced in the vanguard of the struggle for accomplishing the 5-year tasks. In the selection to the party there has been more glasnost and more democracy, and exactingness with regard to people joining the CPSU has increased. In 1987, 87,455 persons were enrolled as CPSU candidate members. By 1 January 1988, the Ukrainian Communist Party membership totaled 3,277,095. Early in the current year, there were 71,312 basic party organizations, 74,051 shop organizations, and 134,908 party groups.

At the same time it was noted that, in many basic party organizations, party members and candidate members were passive in handling assignments and discharging their statutory duties, and that they did not play a leading role in production.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has obliged obkoms and Kiev Gorkom to ensure compliance with the 27th party congress directives and the CPSU Central Committee decision on Tashkent Obkom, which deal with the restructuring of the entire work of selection to the CPSU, intensifying the ideo-moral education of the Communists, and boosting their vanguard role.

A working plan has been approved for accomplishing the tasks set forth in the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the results of the investigation into the causes of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, and on the measures taken to eliminate its effects, to ensure safety in atomic energy production, and to create a stable labor collective at the Chernobyl AES.

The session also examined the situation in capital construction and its immediate tasks, and the progress made by the republic's associations and enterprises in concluding agreements on goods supplies, and in providing themselves with material resources. Note was taken of the unsatisfactory situation in a number of building production sectors and of the need to tighten party committees' control over the fulfillment of capital construction plans.

Ukrainians 'Free' to Read Grushevskiy's Works

LD112321 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Work is going on in the Soviet Union to fill in the blanks in this country's history. Reports from the Ukrainian capital Kiev say readers are now free to study the works of the national historian Mikhail Grushevskiy, a man of unusual political biography. He used to head the counter revolutionary Central Rada in the Ukraine and emigrated after the socialist revolution, but returned home in 1924. Specialists say the works by Grushevskiy, who died in 1934, are a valuable source of material on Ukrainian history.

Kazakhstan Ex-Official Jailed for 'Corruption'

LD111405 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 11 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

The USSR Supreme Court has sentenced a former minister of the automobile transport in Kazakhstan to 13 years' imprisonment with the confiscation of his personal property.

Anatoliy Karavayev was found guilty of taking big bribes and abusing power which caused substantial damage to state interests, Sergey Savkin, a member of the Supreme Court who presided over the trial, said today.

Another ten people were convicted along with the former minister on the same charges of bribe-taking and corruption.

"The trial of the former minister," Savkin said, "is a sign of the times. Perestroyka, or restructuring, means not only a change in forms and methods of economic management. It means, above all, the establishment of justice.

"No position, however high, will make one immune from responsibility for violating laws."

In less than three years (the restructuring drive was started in the Soviet Union in April 1985) the USSR Supreme Soviet has heard cases of 13 highly placed officials involved in bribe-taking and abuse of power.

Deputy ministers of the USSR, secretaries of regional party committees, ministers of union republics and major economic managers found themselves in the dock.

Quite a few similar cases were examined by the supreme soviets of union republics, regional and city courts.

New criminal legislation is currently being drafted in the Soviet Union. A number of wrong-doings now qualified as criminal will probably be viewed as administrative. Public opinion in the country insists, however, that punishment for such offences as bribe-taking and abuse of power for selfish purposes be not mitigated.

Interethnic Clashes in Tyumen Reported

PM111619 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 88 p 2

[Report by TYUMENSKIY KOMSOMOLETS correspondent S. Zholobova: "Rumble"]

[Excerpts] Tyumen—The people beaten were selected according to hair color. They began in the "orchard"—what they call the city gardens in Tyumen. Soon the rowdy mob of youths poured onto the streets. It was there that the first serious skirmish occurred. A solid ring

of youths surrounded a group of lads from the Caucasus. They knocked them down and started kicking them.... The victims were not exactly in a position to defend themselves—and they could not understand: What is the reason for it?...

A discotheque party had ended in the dance hall and several dozen more young men and women rushed over to help the hooligans. In search of more victims and prepared to sweep away everything in its path, the crowd filled the square in front of the central department store.

Anatoliy Gundilov, criminal investigation officer at the Leninskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department in Tyumen, saw a dark-haired lad trying to escape through the mob, hands protecting his head. A sharp blow almost knocked him off his feet. Gundilov tried to arrest the assailant and grabbed him by the arm. The mob roared: "You will not have him!" When they nevertheless managed to bundle the offender into a police car that had drawn up, the crowd went crazy, launched itself at the car, and started to rock it, almost turning it over.

The patrol had a difficult job getting out of the square. Reinforced police squads were immediately called in by radio from all over the city.

For several months there were constant rumors in Tyumen of the existence of some kind of "secret society" which had allegedly declared war on people from the Caucasus. The rumors were reinforced by new clashes: a raid on a hostel housing members of Komsomol shock detachments which had come from the south, fights in restaurants and the dance hall, a bloody battle in the children's playground in district 1.

One Saturday evening I was going to a meeting in the city gardens. On an avenue not far from the garden slopes with their multicolored display there was a group of about 30 youths. They were sitting on benches, laughing loudly, occasionally glancing across the road. On the other side people were speaking something that was not Russian. It was an ordinary, quiet conversation. But I had the feeling that it would only take the slightest thing to cause a clash.

"No one will fight for no reason," one of the youths told me cautiously. They did not give their names.

"But do you know what they are doing to our girls? They don't let them pass, they badger them, and call them all the names under the sun. In fact no ordinary girl in Tyumen would dare to go to the dance hall without her friends...."

"Why do the 'guests' get everything? The best hotel rooms, the best restaurants... Why are they all so rich? What is it, honest money? Eh?"

The kids had a stack of questions. They should have been given answers, explanations, arguments long ago. Not from platforms, not during festivals and international evenings.

"Internationalism..." one of them grunted, "it's a piece of fiction. You ask the market traders about it. Let them drop their prices! I mean, they charge so much that ordinary people can't afford it. For example, I don't remember my mother ever bringing peaches or grapes home from the market...."

It was all mixed up in the boys' heads—the speculator and the hard worker who has raised some pomegranate saplings in his garden (who is to blame for the fact that pomegranates do not grow in Siberia?), the smart operator and the graduate of an oil VUZ, here on an assignment. The adults—they were present when the fights were taking place—not only failed to intervene, but some of them even hollered approval: "Quite right! "Give them what they deserve!" You might hear some old woman in Tyumen shout after a girl walking with a dark-haired boy: "You slut you, aren't there enough of our boys for you!..." [passage omitted]

Internationalism is an abstract concept as far as the boys are concerned. In the decorous atmosphere of the auditorium they would talk about the "fraternal family of peoples," but at home and outside the talk was of the Chechens who had allegedly killed a youth in Urengoy, about an alleged fight between Odessa and Dagestan construction teams in Surgut.... The conversation always ended in the same way: "They've been coming here in droves!"

"These hooligans have got to you!" they told me angrily at the Tyumen Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration. "Yes, we admit that we failed to nip the outrage in the bud, but all steps have now been taken, a plan of measures has been drawn up, and patrolling of the city gardens has been stepped up...."

Indeed it had. There were police cars parked at all entrances and exits, and the avenues and squares were literally filled with reinforced patrols and voluntary militiamen with their red armbands. But that evening, in one district, there was a fight at a workers' hostel where some guys from Georgia were living....

Niyazov Comments on Overreporting Case

PM111015 [Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian on 30 January 1988 carries a half-page feature on page 2 under the rubric "Moral Dilemma", comprising an account of a confession recorded by correspondents A. Dzhapakov and A. Shalganov entitled "Trap: Confession of a Condemned Man", and a commentary on the issue by S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, entitled "Breaking the Overreporting Mechanism."

In his account of how he became involved in overreporting cotton production data, Mukhamed Orazov, former chairman of the cotton-growing Telman Kolkhoz in Mary Oblast, tells how "everyone knew about the overreporting" although "no one spoke of it aloud, not even with their relatives." He refers to the pressure initially put on him by Atabally Orazmamedov, first secretary of Vekil-Bazarskiy Raykom, where the Telman Kolkhoz was located, and talks about the mad rush to make up the figures entered in the report: "Hardly anything was left in the fields. Even the cotton that had been picked at the end of November/beginning of December was fourth grade and really only fit for the trash can. But who cared about that at the time? The main thing was the gross output." Moreover, he says, "the words 'overreporting' and 'bribe' seemed to have disappeared from the language. They had been replaced by the phrases 'buy in cotton' and 'borrow.'"

In his comment on the issue, S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, says:

"You can, of course, sympathize with the kolkhoz chairman who has ended up behind bars—purely as another human being. After all, he had shown himself capable of working honestly, tending the land, helping it to bear fruit, and giving his knowledge and his energy to it and to the people living on it. Suddenly all this was canceled out. But was it suddenly? Sympathy is, of course, a great quality... but who will sympathize with the state, which was forced—in an affront to common sense—to clothe people in the nonexistent cotton 'handed in' by the Orazovs, obediently bowing their heads before the 'officials'? There is no escaping the facts: Between 1980 and 1984 the republic overreported more than 400,000 tonnes of cotton, worth R191 million.

"How can moral losses be measured in terms of rubles and tonnes? After all, with the assistance or the tacit consent of the kolkhoz chairmen ordinary working people became corrupted; many of them simply became used to receiving unearned money for cotton that had not been grown. Here is just one fact, for example: In 1986 some R4 million less was needed to pay wages in farms in Maryyskiy Rayon than in 1985. Do you understand? Once the fight against overreporting had begun and tighter controls were imposed, people were only given what they had actually earned. Previously, however, some of this money was pocketed by the management and the rest was given to kolkhoz members as a bribe—payment to keep quiet.

"It is also hard to credit the 'impartiality' of many of the chairmen. Some of them are now calmly paying out sums of R100,000, if not more, from their own pockets to compensate the damages incurred by the state. Can this money really have been honestly accumulated? Even if we allow that some of them did not accept any bribes, they still received considerable unearned bonuses and undeserved honor. Farms, rayons, and entire oblasts were proclaimed champions of socialist competition not because they had worked well but because they were adept at overreporting.

"But I will be objective: A young, inexperienced specialist who, apart from anything else, was suffering from the 'inferiority complex' so widespread in the East (Orazmamedov was obviously counting on this) must indeed have found it difficult to stand up to the pressure put upon him by the raykom first secretary. But how can you justify those who created and maintained the secret pact of silence and who used their authority to approve the overreporting? Take K. Annamukhammedova, for example, who had been kolkhoz chairman since 1950. Should she be berated for inexperience or weakness of character? After all, she has alluded to this herself. Or another chairman (also, incidentally, a Hero of Socialist Labor), A. Charyyev? He had been running the farm for 9 years, enjoyed indisputable authority, but was nevertheless unable to stand up to Orazmamedov, who pushed him into crime. It is hard to believe, to be perfectly honest.

"The atmosphere of pretence and bad management, mutual protection, nepotism, and parochialism has cost us dear, very dear. The republic's party organization is now having to channel all its energies into overcoming the consequences—not just economic; mainly moral. After all, parasitical attitudes are now firmly entrenched in many people's minds, together with the belief that they can earn a lot of money for doing hardly any work. Some people's faith in justice and in the honesty of their leaders' actions and intentions has been shaken. It is particularly hard to combat all this. The methods of doing so are well known: Complete frankness when admitting mistakes, determination, and the maximum glasnost and democracy.

"We are not starting from scratch. We too have healthy forces which have actively resisted stagnation. Far from every chairman gave into pressure, and this pressure was by no means exerted everywhere. A considerable number of kolkhoz chairmen, party raykom secretaries, and other leaders categorically, flatly refused to break the law, upheld the socialist norms of life, and remained true to their principles despite any threats that were made. In the end it was they who triumphed—without them there would have been no restructuring in our republic.

"Those who incited others to crime will be punished first and foremost. A total of 60 party gorkom and raykom secretaries left their posts in the last year—this is 37 percent. More than 160 former leaders of various ranks have had criminal charges brought against them. There are even party obkom secretaries among them. Party ranks are being actively cleansed. This includes the Central Committee Bureau, Secretariat, and apparatus.

"We already have the first results. Last year the toughest forms of control were used against overreporting, yet the kolkhoz members met the plan nevertheless. Overreporting is not necessary when people do their work properly.

"I am far from overestimating these results. A recent Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee plenum discussed our many shortcomings and oversights. But as far as the fight against overreporting is concerned, particularly with regard to cotton figures, I must say that a great deal has been done. The battle is not over, of course: We have to break the actual mechanism which makes overreporting possible and purify the moral atmosphere in the republic.

"Overreporting is a key problem. The most diverse threads of negative phenomena engendered by stagnation are bound up in it: exaggerated authority and conceit caused by a sense of impunity, moral dissolution, total license, and the desire to have 'your' people everywhere to be able to more surely conceal any abuses.

"With the elimination of overreporting many items on this 'list' will become things of the past. That is why Communists and all working people in the republic attach special importance to the fight against overreporting. We must eradicate it completely, because only this outcome of the struggle can ensure restructuring's success."

Voluntary Retirement Problems Examined

PM100955 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by special correspondent Aleksandr Vasinskiy under the "Cadres Question" rubric: "After Retirement"]

[Text] There was confusion in gathering facts for this article. The search for examples of voluntary retirement (and I made inquiries in Leningrad, Zaporozhye, and other cities) produced no results, there were no such cases—and that was all. Over the telephone my interlocutors told me of examples in Moscow, of which they had read themselves in the newspapers, including the retirement of Academician N.N. Moiseyev, deputy director for science of the USSR Academy of Sciences Computer Center. The union Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building told of a main administration chief who left the day after his 60th birthday, left of his own accord. There were other examples of retirements, but they were unsuitable for a number of reasons, because it was only by stretching a point that they could be called voluntary. Yet it is the voluntary aspects which should interest us in this talk about officials who have reached a certain age barrier and are faced with the problem of surrendering the field—for the good of the cause—to younger, more vigorous and, perhaps, more talented successors.

To judge by the extraordinary rarity of such instances, a definite conclusion may be drawn: Of all the various requests which officials address to departments, the request to retire is not the most popular. And it is not examples of perpetual motion who never wear out but living people susceptible to human weaknesses and aging processes who work in these departments, so that they also "fall" within the subject of our talk, but even here the problem loses none of its scarcity or acuteness.

No one wants to leave. Many people only dream of resting; indeed some people do not dream at home but during some prolonged conference....

What I really felt like doing was writing a lampoon. My God, how much ink has been used, how much black and white humor has been thrown into the struggle against bureaucratic services, against the inscrutable ways of offices, apparatuses, departments, and waiting rooms, but how stintingly, drop by drop, are the notorious "wonder, mystery, and authority" squeezed out of them!

The point is that our newspaper has experience in dealing with this topic. Beginning with the article "Retirement Request" (IZVESTIYA No 335 for 1985) we have published items on many occasions and frequently printed selections of readers' comments. The majority viewed those who have "outstayed their welcome" from denunciatory positions. Here are two of the most characteristic opinions. The first is from a chemistry professor and Lenin Prize winner: "Requests to retire will hardly be made by all those who are expected to do so inasmuch as the greater a leader's incompetence and the baser his moral outlook, then, usually, the higher his self esteem." He is echoed by a doctor: "The question is that the age at which a person should take this responsible and complex decision is often characterized by a weakening of self-appraisal and self-criticism." His conclusion: "Do not expect the official himself to request retirement." A recent reader's letter is also skeptical, and is about academicians. "Although the Academy of Sciences has elaborated forms of retirement from administrative posts, they are not finding any great acceptance," the reader writes. "Or are some people afraid that after they have left each person's worth will emerge?"

After all, the absence of facts is also a fact. Practice confirms that it is indeed just a few people who request retirement while the majority hang on to the last, as they say. The ideal option for many people is to hold on until old age and die on the job. They have a first-class funeral and people are not allowed to forget them. As for the fact that business suffers, that an elderly department or sector leader is exercising leadership only halfheartedly (if not purely symbolically), there are dozens of ways of smoothing over these instances of the weakening of efficiency—there are deputies, the wheels still turn.

So far we have not touched on the reasons (we will discuss them further on) but are merely noting the fact of the official's surprising adherence to his post, when a

man seems to be merging inextricably with his chair, an example of a strange bureaucratic centaur. So we can see how a man can be torn from his chair only with the chair (and sometimes he can be successfully torn away only with a ministry). So sometimes we see in many areas officials of striking longevity occupying the highest management positions who in reality demonstrate a phenomenal ability to doze in the presidiums of meetings with open and even seemingly intelligent eyes....

It is true that sometimes you do not know to what you should ascribe this official longevity—to the achievements of aerobics and calisthenics or to the imperfections of the cadres mechanism.

I did not make all this up, of course. The practice of life tenure of posts arose a long time ago. The "unsinkable" types in the nomenklatura system, what the people call the "waste-free technology," when a worker who has been discredited in one place is moved to a leading post elsewhere and so forth, also appeared a long time ago. How many types of executives took shape according to the formulas of the stagnation period, and these types will not leave the scene rapidly! Is it really easy to abandon at least the one-track thinking in which they have trained many people?

An accurately portrayed type of the time was depicted in S. Zalygin's story "Boris Borisovich—Suicide," published in NOVYY MIR. It is about those man-chairs or chair-men for whom the very possibility of suddenly no longer hearing their name in the lists of board members threatens the collapse of everything, and they are prepared to send a suicide threat note to the presidium. Being cocooned and being driven in an automobile (perhaps he treasures the automobile not even for the sake of comfort but as a ritual: "I've had enough of thinking," as Pushkin's miserly old knight said), deriving self esteem from not mingling "with the crowd"... oh, those functionaries—from chemistry, literature, or wherever—as a rule come from the people, but for them the return route "to the crowd" is often tantamount to suicide.

We will regard this place in the article as a watershed in our talk about voluntary retirements.

Any problem has at least two sides. We are familiar with the negative, denunciatory side. But perhaps we should look at those who have "outstayed their welcome" from positions of understanding, in a kindly manner? After all, they are not all like Boris Borisovich. Let's talk about the honest managers. We say ironically: There is no one who is eager to request retirement. Why? Because in our country it has long been the case that people essentially leave not work but their post, and having lost their post they lose everything, or nearly everything. They even lose themselves, it may be said (and that includes even extraordinary people). Alas, it must be frankly admitted that very often, having lost his post, an official automatically loses his civic persona. He has left and seems to have vanished into a political Lethe, into civic oblivion. How so? Just recently he was a minister, a member of boards, a regular member of presidiums, gave interviews, represented someone or something abroad, published anthologies of articles—and suddenly... the hush of oblivion in his own lifetime, he is crossed off all the lists, so to speak.... No offers, no interviews; it is as though a man's intelligence and talents did not belong to him but were invested in his post and had vanished, had been confiscated from him with the post.... Yet frequently that is not what happens. That is how things have taken shape, that is the custom, and that means that it is within our power to alter, to break this procedure.

After all, it is not the post which we respect in the form of a specific person but a specific person in some post.

With all the reservations required here, I note that in countries where there are no life tenures a man who has ceased to be a minister or party leader remains within the sphere of attention of his contemporaries, continues a full life either in another field or as a private individual. Willy Brandt or, for instance, Kissinger, even figure in our press in connection with some statement about current politics or in connection with a book—about them or by them.

Let us be honest: In our country a man who has retired usually disappears into the shadows. It is as though a man has no status as an individual, yet he should have such status so that he means something not only in a post but also for himself—as a person, a citizen, an individual. What could be fairer or more natural? But how to help this man? It happens that people see him standing pale and helpless, give him cheerful advice, prescribe tranquillizers or antidepressants, yet the only thing wrong is that he is able to work—allow him to stand on both feet, because, poor man, he is standing on one foot, like some convict and no one knows his worth....

That we often invest an official with every quality and immediately refuse him those qualities when he retires, that we immediately forget him and even in some places take pleasure in so doing—there is something servile and at the same time arrogant in all this. It is quite another matter when someone has held out to his obituary "from a group of comrades." But someone who has retired through illness or for other reasons disappears like a nobody. It is rare for him to be mentioned publicly. Have many people "surfaced" from the Lethe of oblivion in their own lifetime? I remember K.T. Mazurov, former deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who, after a long interval, got himself talked about when he recently became chairman of the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans. Such examples are few, alas. I cite a well-known name, but that also applies to other retired people whose professional merits and honesty no one disputes. So surely it is in our power to improve the procedure whereby people with experience, with the highest qualifications, when they retire voluntarily could

count on retaining their persona—not their official persona but their creative, individual, civic persona.... Let us also ask ourselves: In order to encourage voluntary retirements, to encourage the process of the more dynamic renewal of cadres, can we not ensure that, when he retires, a man is not simultaneously deprived of all his rights and benefits but receives some material and moral guarantee of his position? So that this step is less painful for him?

It is thus a case of the form of honorable retirement.

I asked Academician Moiseyev how this voluntary retirement procedure had been for him.

He said simply:

"I asked—and they let me go."

People will say that an academician is not a typical example, a renowned mathematician or philosopher is well-off even without the pay of an institute deputy director, especially when he remains as an adviser at the computer center. It is of course more difficult for others but it is all the more reasonable to speak of at least minimal guarantees for a conscientious and self-sacrificing worker who has retired. Why do we sometimes almost gloat when we learn that a retired man is being "evicted" from the official dacha to which he no longer has a right? Why does our interest in a man in the majority of cases stop as soon as he "goes?" All our life essentially takes place at work and when we have left it is not merely as if we had died but even as if we had never existed. In the sense of moral prestige and a feeling of confidence—where does it all go, what is a retired person left with?

Nikita Nikolayevich Moiseyev told me about his grandfather, who served in the railroad department before the revolution. They had the following procedure: When you had served the stipulated time you received a pension and, if you had an irreproachable work record, you could retire with the right to wear full-dress uniform (or if you had committed offenses, then without the right to wear the uniform). So that meant that over and above the guarantees there were special gradations of distinctions, incentives, restrictions, and so forth.

In our country right now this form of "preserving the individual" and his prestige is envisaged only with regard to military leaders, ambassadors, academicians, or simple celebrities. Hence their feeling of confidence and dignity and signs of attention...

But what was left for that Ministry of Heavy and Power Machine Building main administration chief we mentioned to start with? He had earned R450 a month. When he left he began to receive R140, but it is not even a question of money. Immediately, the next day, he was deprived of everything which has no monetary equivalent. I do not want to say that that system of privileges was irreproachable, but there is nothing good in the fact that, after working honestly for dozens of years, a man immediately remains alone with all his problems.

In my opinion what is bad in that system is that an official is not protected primarily emotionally, in terms of his dignity. You have been jettisoned like a pair of worn shoes and you have no one to ask or, the main thing, you do not know what to ask: As regards material and moral guarantees after retirement things are quite vague, there would seem to be legislative acts operating here, but it is subjective elements which act to an even greater extent. But can a man retain his dignity if he feels himself to be no more than a key under the finger of the department? For some reason I imagine some kind of control panel—a control panel with a very wide keyboard where a considered method of influence hides behind each key: When a key is pressed a man sees himself in some lists but cannot find his name on others, receives encouragement, or a rap over the knuckles for conceit.... Oh, there are such virtuoso players here!

But surely this is not only a problem for the big bosses, as they say? Perhaps because of the fall in affluence "before" and "after" retirement they feel it more keenly but in principle depersonalization after retirement affects everyone. A worker retires after laboring in an honest, exemplary manner all his life—and his pension is R132. Another worker—an unconscientious worker but one who has "hauled in" the same length of service—also gets R132, well, admittedly sometimes slightly less. My point is not the size of the sum but the identical procedure. Can we not break the procedure to ensure that a leading worker should not receive a depersonalized pension "like everyone else" but what is in a direct sense a personal, personalized pension, depending on his labor contribution over his entire life and not on some artificially chosen years? To ensure that the engineer, the designer, the lathe operator, the nurse—that everyone on retirement can, if they want, freely and peacefully earn a supplement to their pension without any stipulations and "ceilings." After all today many people are simply tormented by all the restrictions on earnings to supplement their pension—one thing is forbidden and so is another, they are not allowed to work in their special area or they will earn more than the stipulated "ceiling," they must become guards or watchmen or do nothing at all. Just as long as a person does not earn money but lives in a state of semipenury and dependence... Who needs to infringe on people and forbid them from doing things, why this desire to make everyone equal in dispossession and namelessness?...

People will say: Well, OK, let them establish material and moral guarantees for honest managers who retire. But what are we to do with the people like Boris Borisovich?

It is easiest to write: Let's send our Boris Borisovich into retirement without the right to wear uniform. But then a new question arises: Who allowed him to indulge his

ambitions at the state's expense for so many years? Why did no one stop him when he was merely trying a new post for size or, best of all, after he had displayed his unsoundness in his previous post? Can we not say: Where people like Boris Borisovich are allowed to sit is where democracy has retired?

The concept of democracy is a key one for our theme if we want to rid ourselves more rapidly of the heritage of stagnation. "Stagnation" again! But that is how we are made: We find one word and trot it out on every pretext. Indeed, there is nothing you can do about it; you really do have to admit that the period of stagnation has firmly implanted its "values" in the management sphere too. One of the tasks of restructuring, it is rightly said, is to lift the shroud of secrecy from the management apparatus itself, to expand democracy so that important decisions are taken not by collaboration among officials but in compliance with published laws. The unwritten laws of offices must be replaced with written, enshrined laws so that there are no bureaucratic conservation areas or ecological niches protected from the eyes of the law and glasnost by "no entry" signs.

However paradoxical it may sound, clarity and precision in this sphere are necessarv to the managers themselves. Guarantees of some kind at voluntary retirement and indeed in work in general are necessary for department and apparatus workers in order to... acquire a degree of independence from their own departments. Why is there sometimes such a shortage of civic behavior when it is a case of defending positions against departmental interests? Because the official is totally dependent on the department which looks at its worker as virtually its personal property. When they are in single harness it is difficult to speak of principled behavior. It is a rare event for a prosecutor to be able to go against the prosecutor's office, for a ministry worker to go against the ministry. The department will "eat up" and tear away a refractory person but will come to the aid of a departmental patriot as long as he does not give offense.

After all, even now, under glasnost, you encounter precisely that feature of departmentalism which makes its own action, which controls itself, reacts to the critical arrows of glasnost aimed at it, takes measures against itself, punishes itself, and so forth. Departmentalism always stands on one foot, it has one foot and one head; it is difficult for objectivity and various alternative views and opinions to be born in it. Departmentalism is departmentalism, it will not offend itself and will do nothing seriously to harm itself. That is why laws are needed to limit the department's power over the fate of the manager, to guarantee him some degree of freedom—the right to object and to retire, the right to remain materially independent in conflict situations, the right leave with some kind of material and moral guarantee.

I do not want to be understood as a defender of the privileges of those who need no protection. But I want to say that the pose of a bold reviler of the bosses, although he promises to extract liberal applause, in a certain number of cases nonetheless attests to a regrettable underdevelopment of some concepts. Often backwardness, the inability to value an idea, knowledge, qualifications, a design, thought, or brains, to value more than execution, are often linked in our disrespect for managers. The preference for the extensive as opposed to the intensive, of quantity to quality, has an effect. One successful managerial decision can be worth an extraordinary amount, can spare us tremendous superfluous efforts. In a number of developed countries there are already more managers, executives, and scientists than direct producers. The quality of managerial ideas and decisions and thought itself become a production force and supreme value. Disrespect for knowledge, experience, and intellect is displayed in barbaric form in our country in, for instance, the dispatch of scientific institute employees to vegetable bases, which is tantamount to driving in railroad spikes with your head.

In general we have not gone very far in learning to respect the man either in our neighbor or in the person standing next to us in line or in a colleague of equal standing or in our boss (and why should he be an exception in the ranking?) For a long time, and not without success, we were "trained" in suspicion and denunciations, and who in our century have we not been asked to denounce—the petit bourgeois (those philistines) and the bureaucrats, the enemies of the people, thieves and those who constantly change their jobs, poseurs and unofficial musicians, owners of private businesses, renegades and self-seekers, parasites and gossips, people who say nothing, and the devil knows who else. Animosity and suspicion are an aggressive medium and many solid and good things—the ability to understand, for instance, a sense of moderation, and common sense—can be dissolved or become sour in it....

...No one wants to go? But we will try (not by denunciation but through kindness) to understand what this step costs a person, what awaits him; to understand, and make this step easier for him.

PRAVDA Editorial Views People's Control

PM111155 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "People's Control. Verifying Actual Execution"; uppercase as published]

[Text] Seventy years ago the Soviet of People's Commissars adopted the decree "On the Establishment of the Central Control Collegium and Local Reporting and Control Collegiums and Control Commissions." These marked the beginning of the country's integrated control organs based on the participation of the working masses. Lenin's idea of creating a general and all-embracing system of reporting and control pointed the correct way toward the elaboration of socialist social discipline and the involvement of the greatest possible number of people in management.

"CHECKING UP ON PEOPLE AND VERIFYING ACTUAL EXECUTION—this, I repeat, this and this alone, is what all our work and all our policies now hinge on"—that was how V.I. Lenin posed the question.

That is also how the party is posing the question today. We regard people's control, the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum noted, both as an effective means of bringing to light new and urgent issues and as a most important form of involving the masses in the process of the management of the affairs of society and the state.

It is a question of establishing a unified and integrated system on the basis of the USSR People's Control Committee, which would be vested with extensive powers throughout the country's territory, rely on maximum glasnost in its work, and implement its important functions comprehensively and from a nationwide viewpoint. In the very near future it is planned to cut back the overblown control apparatus and to establish order in it, to eliminate the lack of coordination and rhythm in its work, and to put an end to the constant stream of all kind of checkups and audits with which enterprises and organizations are inundated.

Restructuring represents a difficult test for people's control organs. Certain people's control committees are still operating along the old lines, they are slow to rid themselves of formalism and outdated methods of work, they aim too low, they substitute long reports and bulletins for real work, and they are poor at helping grassroots control echelons to find their place in the self-management of labor collectives, especially during enterprises' switch to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. Justified criticism was leveled in this context at the Uzbek, Azerbaijani, Moldavian, and Turkmen People's Control Committees and a number of oblast people's control committees in the RSFSR, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. However, by no means all of them have drawn the right conclusions from this criticism. Take checks, for instance. There has been virtually no reduction in their number, despite the fact that the figure cited in the review report looks quite favorable: In 1987 the overall number of checks carried out by all committees has been reduced by 13,400 compared with the previous year. However, this represents only 5 percent of their total number.

The Law on the State Enterprise which came into force at the beginning of the current year has placed the labor collective at the focus of restructuring. Once again it has been reaffirmed that the protagonist of restructuring is the working man and that the main means of transforming him into a true master of production is democracy, the transition to self-management, and the development of initiative and enterprise.

The USSR People's Control Committee has elaborated a priority control system for the period through 1990. Priority avenues include scientific and technological progress, saving fuel and energy resources, solving the food problem, housing construction, and improving the quality of consumer goods. The new, comprehensive, and purposeful organization of control has made it possible within a relatively short time to thoroughly investigate a number of major problems on which CPSU Central Committee and government resolutions have been adopted.

In order to continue to cope successfully with the outlined program, it is necessary in practice to pool the efforts of labor collectives, party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and people's control. However, people's control committees and groups frequently act in a formalistic way and they do not fully exercise the powers with which they have been invested, confining themselves to general terms and criticism which is not directed at anyone in particular. At the end of last year, a plenum of the Groznyy party gorkom noted serious shortcomings in the work of the local people's control, trade inspection, and financial organs. Cases were cited where auditors and control workers entered into collusion with criminals. Yet the city people's control committee appears to be unaware of this.

It is necessary to identify and disseminate more widely the experience of the best collectives where a truly creative quest is under way for the most effective forms and methods of control. Work of this kind is being tackled at the Vladimir and Minsk tractor plants, on Yampolskiy Rayon kolkhozes in Vinnitsa Oblast, and at a number of other industrial, construction, transport, and agricultural enterprises. At the Severodonetsk "Azot" production association, for instance, the number of people's control workers has been cut by a factor of three and the number of checks by a factor of 3.5. Discarding the ballast, they appointed the most worthy and active production workers to the people's control groups. They are diverting people from production tasks less frequently, the results obtained are more tangible, and the prestige of the people's control committee and its echelons has increased.

The current stage of restructuring involves above all practical matters: it means enhanced demands on each person for the sector with which he has been entrusted, and strict monitoring of the accurate and prompt execution of party and government decisions. As we progress, this control will assume a more and more important place in our work. Verifying the implementation of contract commitments and state orders for all types of output and services by enterprises and sectors demands special attention.

The paramount task of people's control organs and aktivs is to prevent and resolutely cut short any negligence or indiscipline, to combat any manifestations of local favoritism and narrow departmental interests, and to declare a merciless war on bureaucracy, parasitic attitudes, and any attempt to steal from the state purse.

In our time of sweeping democratization of the country's life, people's control must become utterly open and take place before everyone's eyes. Glasnost is a powerful weapon of restructuring, and only glasnost in control is capable of truly curing a particular social ill rather than smoothing it over or covering it up, of warning people against a repetition of mistakes and miscalculations, and leading violators of legality and socialist morality into clear waters.

The democratic basis of control must be expanded and strengthened in every way. People's control committees must rely more on labor collectives in their work, regularly report to them, and collaborate more closely with local soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol, and law enforcement organs.

People's control workers are called upon to act boldly, vigorously, and skillfully in all sectors of restructuring and to strive for the solution of the major and most crucial problems of the day. The novelty and scale of the set aims obliges all echelons of people's control to assist the party more vigorously in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums.

More Open Party Election Procedures Urged

PM121009 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Feb 88 First Edition p 1

[Article by V. Yegorov, deputy chief of the Kalinin CPSU Obkom Organizational Party Work Department, under the rubric: "Toward the Party Conference": "The Living Science of Democracy"; boldface as published]

[Text] Why is our new time especially interesting for the party worker? I think because it creates an unprecedentedly favorable climate for public creativity. In terms of their activeness the positions of nonparty members have become closer than ever to those of party members and everyone is motivated by a thirst for change. This desire for change imbues party life with a good tone and democratizes it. The time has probably come (reports from obkom bureaus and party kraykoms on the leadership of restructuring have taken place almost everywhere) to formulate in some way the will of Communists expressed in the course of the preparations for the 19th all-union party conference.

Even quite recently elections of party secretaries, for instance, were completely secret, whereas now favorable conditions are emerging for free expression of Communists' will in the formation of leading party organs (at present, in my opinion, at the level of primary organizations' party committees and party bureaus). This is splendid! But he who comes into contact with party practice every day cannot fail to notice that the present election system does not, alas, fully match up either to the tasks of strengthening party comradeship or to the development of Communists' initiative, activeness and principledness.

Who cannot remember the report and election party meetings where Communists found out only a month or two later who had become their party leader? **Become,** without having been **elected** by them. Most often the hackneyed phrase rang out at the end of the show: The meeting is over, party committee members remain. And the mystery began—the quest for a secretary from those present.

This paradox is, I dare to assert, enshrined in the CPSU Central Committee Instruction on Holding Elections of Leading Party Organs. This instruction is valid to this day although party practice, which is itself being updated, is increasingly giving rise to divergences with it. Of course, the instruction is necessary as a primer to facilitate the work of emergent party leaders. But what we have now does not provide for diverse options and approaches with regard to making decisions, sometimes does not contain clear explanations, and often proposes some external characteristics but no content. It also contains provisions which contravene the CPSU Statute.

I opened them up and put them side by side—the instruction and the statute. For instance, Instruction Paragraph 15 demands that primary and shop party organization secretaries and their deputies be elected by closed (secret) ballot. But Statute Paragraph 24 says that elections can, with Communists' consent, be held by a show of hands. Incidentally, many Communists take advantage of this right.

Of course, this contradiction is not too damaging. The point lies largely elsewhere: **Why can Communists in small organizations choose for themselves how to vote—by secret ballot or by a show of hands? On what grounds have the party members of large-scale party organizations been deprived of this right?** It is no coincidence that Communists voice reproaches in conversations: Why, they say, must we hide ourselves away when electing our comrades, when secrecy, fear, and indecisiveness are receding into the past? The Likhoslavlskiy Rayon's "Tolmachevskiy" Sovkhoz party organization report meeting made the following comment: "It is time for the Central Committee to make changes to the Instruction, we must decide for ourselves how we are to vote." Primary organizations' creative initiative has risen up against the Instruction's authority. That's something new! And a previously boring procedure has suddenly thrilled all those present. Sovkhoz party members removed from the party committee by a show of hands two comrades who were universally thought to be unable to cope with the work. The election process was initiated and three people were nominated to replace the two who had quit. The elections, as they say, came to life: The party committee discussed each of the nominees there and then. The meeting's presidium proposed that after these elections all Communists (not only members of the party committee) decide who should be secretary. The entire party organization made the choice by a show of hands, not without a clash of opinions. This option is not provided for by the Central Committee Instruction. In

my opinion the instruction must enshrine Communists' right to directly elect party committee and party bureau secretaries. Such elections have, for instance, already been held in the party organizations of the Bologoye "Strommashina" Plant, the Likhoslavl "Svetotekhnika" Plant, and others. I propose that such practice be legalized.

At the same time, as the practice of recent months has shown, a secret ballot was also perceived as propert in by-elections to select party bureau or party committee members from several candidates. In Likhoslavlskiy Rayon again (they are being especially creative in trying out democratization there now, incidentally) five candidates were put forward at the glove factory's report meeting for election as party bureau members. Their names were all put on ballot papers with the stipulation that each Communist had to underline the surnames of the two comrades on the list who were, in his opinion, the most worthy. While the counting commission was working—what a great sense of excitement there was! It turned out that one of the previously "agreed" candidates received less votes than all the others. Thus they were able to avoid mistakes and not elect to the bureau a man lacking in authority. The Communists went away satisfied. "We not only voted," they said. "We thought and chose." **So is it perhaps enough to dictate how to vote for whom? Let the party members themselves decide this. Provide for several different options in the Instruction.** Moreover a secret ballot must be really secret with all the necessary trappings: with a ballot box which has not been put there merely for show and without strict surveillance (just you try crossing out his name is the message!)

Democratization in electoral practice is already taking resolute steps. For instance, last year competitive elections with several candidates were held in 253 primary party organizations in our country. I think that this procedure is worth enshrining in the Instruction. True, there is a danger that elections might turn into a contest—as to who can put forward and discuss more arguments. We cannot help but consider also that someone will be left in second place in such elections. We must take care that these questions are examined attentively and tactfully and do not cause people moral trauma. This must all be put in the Instruction but it is not necessary to explain to Communists that they have to elect a presidium (Paragraph 7) in order to hold a report and election meeting.

With multicandidate elections situations are possible where the candidates do not gain a majority of the votes cast by those present. For instance, one candidate has collected 48 percent and another 30 percent. The remainder have abstained. In the present situation, as Paragraph 23 suggests, it is necessary to vote again. **Perhaps it is worth making special provision for such cases enabling someone to be elected in multicandidate voting simply by a majority of the votes cast** and not twist the arms of those who did not specify their opinion.

Another point is that it would be worth attaching particular importance to the report and election meeting and stressing its difference from normal meetings. Today it is in practice permissible for a party organization secretary to be elected by just 26 percent of the Communists on the party register. This situation can arise if, for example, 51 percent of the Communists on the party register attend the meeting. **It would be correct to consider quorate party meetings where elections are held involving no less than two-thirds of Communists.**

Party building would obviously not be harmed if amendments were also made to Paragraph 3 of the Instruction, which permits conferences to be held at primary and shop party organizations numbering more than 500 Communists, but only with permission from the obkom and the CPSU kraykom. Surely party gorkoms and raykoms can resolve this question? I think that they could be trusted to take this decision.

Yes, the party is living through an interesting time, assimilating, so to speak, new technologies for party construction. I sense this every time I meet my rayon colleagues. Nonparty comrades' interest in party organizations' work has increased practically everywhere and this was especially manifest in the course of the reports on restructuring. Here is another thought which, in my opinion, requires discussion: **Perhaps party members should not shut themselves away at meetings from nonparty members?** What special secrets can the party, if we take the broad view, have from the people? **For that reason report meetings must be open. Elections of party group organizations and shop and primary party organization secretaries must also be held openly in those places where there are no party committees and party bureaus.** Then nonparty members of links, teams, livestock units, and so on will be able to take a most active part in the discussion, which will only benefit the party organizations' authority. And I think that it will attract new, aware, forces to build up restructuring into the party.

'Obedient Majority' Seen as Obstacle to Reform

PM101557 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 6, 7 Feb 88 p 3

[Dmitriy Kazutin article: "Non-Entities and Personalities"]

[Text] Social stagnation is always dismal for its uniformity. Ostentatious identity of ideas, bureaucratic reglamentation of conduct, the levelling in pay and in the assessment of personal merits and demerits ("no one is irreplaceable") these are the characteristics of a "stagnant daily life."

In contrast, revolutionary periods are striking for the wealth of different events, situations, and genuine activity. Individuals get their sovereign rights, they begin to act vigorously and at the same time insist on being respected and understood. But the years of stagnation have conditioned us to uniform assessments. In real life

some situations may seem identical while they are totally different essentially. We have to learn again and this is difficult to do at this stage because those who resist the process of perestroyka stand to gain from uniformity. Labels are their weapon.

Addressing the January gathering of top executives of the Soviet mass media, ideological institutions and creative workers' unions, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "We are frequently criticized both from the right and from the left. The latter say that restructuring has stopped and call for more resolute measures, for personnel reshuffling and so on. This was especially manifest at the October Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee."

The October Plenary Meeting condemned avant-gardism as we know. But conservatism would not be conservatism if it had not tried to profit from this episode. More so because conservatism and avant-gardism converge, as is known, despite the difference of the verbal garb.

The recent article carried by PRAVDA was about a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia and First Secretary of the Razdan District Party Committee Grayk Kotandzhyan who addressed two plenary meetings of the republic's Party Central Committee last year. He spoke about the corruption and protectionism sweeping Armenia's various spheres of life. He spoke about the "shadow" economy that had assumed tremendous proportions, about social injustice, the lack of legal and moral protection from corruption for the republic's working people.

Describing all that so as to discredit perestroyka, Gayk Kotandzhyan blamed the situation on the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia and suggested that a new Bureau be elected and that First Secretary of the Central Committee K. Demirchyan move to a different job of his own accord.

The latest plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee of the republic last December condemned both addresses by Gayk Kotandzhyan as erroneous and lacking substance. "This is demagogy, which implies personal ambition and self-seeking motives!" was the conclusion made by the majority of those who made their speeches "according to the scenario".

According to the majority opinion, the plenary meeting faced a clinical case of "criticism from the left". Members of the Central Committee of Armenia's Communist Party who charged Gayk Kotandzhyan with seeking personal gains made thinly veiled hints at the fact that this situation was similar to that during the October Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. In fact, they maintained that it was identical.

But these two situations cannot be compared. While in the Moscow "Episode" the crisis was caused by the political illusions that a revolutionary renewal of society could be achieved through vigorous and honest guidance from above alone, that is, by using "purified" but still high-handed methods. This was a dramatic moment in perestroyka. The Armenian episode is a case of protest against the high-handed methods. This is a stagnation drama.

It is to Gayk Kotandzhyan's credit that he did not surrender to the "consolidation of the nomenclature opposed to perestroyka," the herd of the braking mechanism in the republic. He single-handedly fought against this force and found himself literally in the "solitude of the minority".

"The majority is always right"—this principle which seems to be very democratic and collectivist, has often been used to cover up the most outrageous highhandedness of bureaucrats and the most consistent—if this is the right word—unscrupulousness. "Which is more important, the collective or the individual?" This question, which only recently was considered purely rhetoric under bureaucratized and often corrupted "collectivism", is posed in the first issue of the magazine KOMMUNIST by philosopher Igor Kon, and answered by him: "The collective, of course, but provided it consists of individuals. The sum of ones always exceeds one while the sum of zeros, ciphers, is always zero."

New ideas have never become instantly comprehensible to the majority of people. In this sense the majority was not right on many occasions. The current perestroyka process was also started by the minority, which expressed the radical interests of the whole of society. Despite this it took time and persistent effort before the ideas came to be understood by the majority.

Judging from the article in PRAVDA, these ideas are yet to be mastered by the majority of members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia. This "Obedient Majority" prefers to remain the sum of ciphers even in the presence of a one among them. This sort of "arithmetic" blatantly contradicts the spirit of the times.

Journalists' Union Establishes Ethics Council

PM121456 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "A Journalist's Ethics"]

[Text] The USSR Journalists' Union has set up an All-Union Council for Professional Ethics and Law and approved a provision on its work.

In this connection the USSR Journalists' Union board is receiving requests for an explanation of the main tasks facing the council.

The All-Union Council for Professional Ethics and Law was set up following a proposal of delegates to the Sixth Journalists' Congress, N.N. Chetverikov, chairman of

the council, secretary of the USSR Writers' Union board, and chairman of the All-Union Copyright Agency, explained. The council, together with republican, kray, oblast, and primary journalists' organizations, is to take part actively in all the activities of the USSR Journalists' Union, ensure compliance with the requirements of the rules, and protect the purity of its ranks.

It is called upon actively to help form in union members a Marxist-leninist legal and ethical awareness and principles of communist morality which are appropriate to the tasks of the press in a socialist society; to take part in monitoring journalists' compliance with these norms; and to take measures to create an atmosphere of intolerance of violations of the requirements of the ethics of journalism among professionals. One of the council's main tasks is to help give journalists legal assistance in their professional activity and protect their professional honor and dignity.

Councils for professional ethics and law are now being set up in the localities. Some of them have begun work.

The all-union council receives many letters and requests. In this connection one wish could be expressed: it would be a good thing if all the conflict situations were first examined in the oblast, kray, and republican councils. As for complaints about press publications, examining these does not come within the council's competence. At the same time, the council will study and summarize the causes and practice of the submission of complaints to the mass media and to journalists.

The council has now begun to draw up an ethical code for the Soviet journalist, which will be submitted for wide discussion.

The Council for Professional Ethics and Law will act as a court of honor for the journalist in the event of his violation of the principles and norms of the ethics of journalism. For instance, we would count as violations of the ethics of journalism cases where journalists abuse their position and publish unchecked facts, deviating from the truth.

It is the council's duty to establish truthfulness, honesty, and justice.

Orthodox Leader Writes for New Religion Bulletin

LD121124 Moscow TASS in English 1101 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galich, member of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, has shared his ideas about the tasks which, in his opinion, are facing clergymen and believers of the Russian Orthodox Church in the current year, the year of the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia, and in the coming period. The article of the prominent religious figure was published issue of the bulletin "RELIGION IN brought out by the NOVOSTI press agen

Summing up the results of the seven decad the Soviet state, one can point out with sa believers actively participated in the soci tions carried out by the Soviet people, t "We are glad that first-priority attenti today to the cultural upgrading of our s express profound gratitude to the leaders understanding the spiritual needs of beli politan Filaret wrote.

"A thousand-year-long experience of t imbued with concern for the establishme the soul of everyone, in the family, in s relations among nations", he continued.

Emphasizing the striving of the Russ Church for unity, Metropolitan Filaret po regret that atempts had been made of la seeds of dissent and temptation in the flock". He believes that this phenomen "arrogance, on the temptation of vanity makes someone into a graven image".

In conclusion Metropolitan Filaret expres that the celebration of the 1,000th annive tianity in Russia will promote the enri spiritual life of believers of the Russ Church, the consolidation of orthodox un opment of ecumenical relations, the streng between various religions, as well as a com peace and cooperation among all the nati

Poll Shows Wavering Faith in Restruc

PM101447 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESK INDUSTRIYA in Russian 9 Feb 88 p 2

[Article by Zh. Toshchenko, doctor of sciences, professor of the CPSU Centr Social Sciences Academy, and vice pre Soviet Sociological Association: "In the M ion," under the rubric "19th All-Union ence: The Communist and Restructuring"

[Text] In the middle of last year sociolo CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences ducted an all-union sociological survey. In this survey some 11,000 workers and kol and 1,500 leading workers were question were faced with the task of establishing th working people's political awareness and trends in this awareness, and of determin the task of intensifying the democratizatio

How can one describe the changes taking basis of research results? Although it is not that the country embarked upon restr changes are quite tangible, and this fact ha

by working people. Almost half of the respondents said that the positive changes in political life are quite considerable. Another 30 percent noted positive changes in political life but termed them insignificant.

So what changes were they thinking of? Glasnost, first of all. There are many specific examples I could give you of how glasnost has made itself apparent, but perhaps it is most evident of all in the activity of the mass media. The matters now openly discussed by newspapers, journals, radio, and television are in the vital interests of the working people and also, therefore, meet the general aims of restructuring. The election of economic leaders and people's deputies on the basis of a multicandidate system, the formation of councils in labor collectives—these are all real signs of democratization and increasing glasnost. That is why 85 percent of those involved in the survey said that glasnost has not only become reality but is also helping to improve socialism.

But, at the same time, when realistically appraising his own potential and environment, far from every working person has ventured to try on the "white raiment" of glasnost himself and embark on the difficult path of clearing the obstacles standing in the way of democratic transformations and restructuring. Only half of the workers and kolkhoz workers questioned and 46 percent of leadership personnel were confident of really being able to freely express their opinions on political life. The other half not only doubted the possibility of being able to do so but would most probably refrain from expressing their opinions if need be—not to mention the question of taking bold action. The reasons for this are largely to be found in the past, but we must not ignore their link with the present also. People's inertia, irresolution, and secret desire to sit out "the disturbing period of restructuring" on the sidelines of life frequently have quite real foundation—there are many examples of people being persecuted for criticism.

Did the survey bring anything unexpected and untraditional to light? A sharp increase in the amount of interest shown in domestic policy events in the country. For the first time in many years this interest outweighed interest in foreign policy events, although only half of the respondents said they were completely satisfied with information given on events in the country. The second feature was the quite marked discrepancy in people's assessments of the restructuring processes taking place in the country as a whole and in specific collectives. As already stated, the overwhelming majority of people have accepted restructuring, can feel its life-giving force, and believe in it. But, on the other hand, almost 40 percent of the respondents noted the absence of any changes whatsoever in their collective. This fact is very alarming, because the fate of restructuring is decided in the enterprise and the organization.

Unfortunately, people's minds have been affected by the expenditure-based economic mechanism for so many years that very many working people are now firmly entrenched in the stereotyped thinking of the day laborer: "We are just little people who do as we are told." But it is only in his labor collective that a man can feel himself to be the real master of production and become accustomed to participating in the management of production and social matters. People judge real change in the life of society by the changes which take place in their own lives and which concern them directly—whether it be a new form of labor organization affecting their wages, a new machine tool, or a new director whom they themselves have elected. An absence of these changes is fraught with the danger that faith in restructuring will be undermined.

What other serious problems concerning the development of democracy were brought to light? Unfortunately, the information from the poll showed that restructuring in sociopolitical life has mainly affected problems lying on the surface, that is, the obvious, indisputable problems such as reinforcing discipline and order in production or increasing responsibility. The least results have been achieved in developing self-management and increasing the independence of labor collectives and social organizations in the solution of urgent problems. We are still very far from realizing Lenin's demand that all working people be involved in management.

The Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which is now in force and makes particular provision for broad participation by rank-and-file collectives, is very important. But the reality is such that people often cannot and, even worse, do not want to take the reins of government. Only about 14 percent of rank-and-file workers and approximately 9 percent of leading workers rated the role of these councils highly. The same proportion of respondents described the work of these organs of self-management in negative terms, and the rest did not express an opinion.

So what is the answer? Democracy and self-management cannot develop solely on the basis of propaganda and explanatory work. They also need firm economic foundations and powerful reinforcement in the form of a return from the introduction of the new economic management methods. Meanwhile, the poll showed that people can still see no direct link between their work input and their wages. Only 21 percent of leading workers and 28 percent of rank-and-file workers replied that their wages will increase if they work harder; one-quarter of the former and one-third of the latter expressed doubt on this score; and the rest gave a totally negative answer.

It should be pointed out that in an all-union survey conducted a year earlier, the proportion of positive responses to a similar question was two times higher among the rank and file. This shows a deterioration in the public's opinion of the present system of material incentives for labor.

The way in which people assess their own personal reserves is also important. The poll indicated that 81 percent of rank-and-file workers and 67 percent of leading workers believe they could work better. Again, in 1986 these indicators registered 88 and 82 percent respectively. So there has been a drop in the evaluation of personal reserves, particularly among leading cadres. We can conclude from this that we are making poor use of one of our ideological reserves—people's willingness to seriously improve their work. Restructuring's greatest opportunity—to bring the personal aspirations of the majority as close as possible to collective and state interests—must not be lost.

The democratization process assumes the development of the need for democracy among leading cadres and rank-and-file workers. What reserves lie in leaders' activity? It became clear during the survey that 32 percent of leaders questioned have a negative attitude toward the election of production leaders. It is not as if this attitude were the result of bitter experience.... But they are negative before they even start, before they have even tried the new democratic form in practice—elections which V.I. Lenin termed the "ABC of democracy." This indicates that one-third of leading cadres have still not grasped the essence of restructuring, whose concrete program was developed on the basis of the broad development of democracy; they have no wish to abandon obsolete, stereotyped ideas and, consequently, willingly or not are holding back the restructuring process.

Like a chain reaction, this kind of attitude is spreading to the rank and file. For example, only 46 percent of the respondents supported the practice of electing directors and heads of subdivisions.

What is the particular impediment to democratization processes, what is holding back progress? The discrepancy between word and deed is the obstacle to democratic transformations in the labor collectives. This is still persisting and is one of the most substantial braking factors. I could give you a number of examples. But the most widespread is ministries' petty-minded interference in enterprises which have transferred to economic accountability [khozraschet] and full self-financing. They say one thing and then do the exact opposite.

In the opinion of rank-and-file workers, there is most often a discrepancy between word and deed in the activity of the administration and the trade union and other social organizations, whose authority is on the wane. On the whole, people are disposed to critically evaluate the work style of administrative organs. But the survey showed that the level of their authority is too low. For example, only 14.5 percent of rank-and-file workers assessed changes in the activity of party organizations positively ; 13 percent—in the work of soviet organs; 9 percent—in trade union activity; and 7.3 percent—in the work of economic leaders. And the percentage of positive appraisals was even lower among leading cadres. I should point out that in a similar poll conducted in 1986 the percentage of working people who noted an improvement in the work of leading organs and social organizations was twice as high. According to the survey, Komsomol organizations and people's control organs generate the least confidence.

We are now faced with the situation wherein the main organizational levers seem to have atrophied. The traditional organs of management have lost their authority to a considerable extent, while the new organs of self-management have yet to acquire it. This carries the danger of a haphazard approach to the development of democratization processes and retardation.

The low level of political culture may also be regarded as a braking factor in the development of democratization processes. Analysis has revealed its poor development. If one interprets political culture as the fusion of profound political knowledge, ideological conviction, and an active social stand, only one in five people possesses these qualities.

Approximately half of the working people termed many people's consumerist approach to life and bureaucracy in management as two of the most negative phenomena.

Summing up these and other data from the all-union survey, the following conclusions can be drawn:

A contradictory situation is taking shape among the public: On the one hand, we can note people's positive attitude toward restructuring, but, on the other, there is a marked tendency toward a reduction in the number of working people who have expressed the desire to contribute to it.

The public has recognized no real improvement in the work of party, state, economic, and social organizations. What is more, people's attitude toward their work style and methods has become more critical. At the same time organs of self-management have yet to gather momentum (one in six people assessed their performance in negative terms). There is, perhaps, reason to talk of a certain "vacuum of authority" which, in conditions where economic and ideological levers are still fairly ineffectual, is fraught with the threat of an increasingly haphazard approach to the development of social processes.

Restructuring in labor collectives is being held back. Consequently, it is important as never before to move the focus of organizational and ideological work directly to the enterprises and effect the positive changes needed—including in public awareness.

The process of deepening socialist democracy is moving too slowly. The practice of electing leaders is carving a way for itself with difficulty. Many people are still afraid to speak frankly at meetings and in the press, criticize the leadership, and reveal shortcomings. The majority of critical observations and proposals made by working

people at meetings are ignored. These recurrences of past practice must be overcome, otherwise a second braking mechanism may come into play: Unconfirmed expectations of radical change will develop into greater skepticism and public apathy.

Public Halts Construction of Nuclear Plant

LD150951 Moscow TASS in English 0905 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Krasnodar February 15 TASS—The construction of an atomic electric power station has been stopped in the Krasnodar territory, in the south of the USSR, under the decision taken by the Fuel and Energy Complex Bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The decision was taken largely under the impact of the opinion of the public who since the beginning of the construction of an atomic power station there, started sounding the alarm. Letters and messages of protest were sent to editorial boards of Moscow and local newspapers, to television. The demand that the construction project be stopped was made by public and state inspectors for protection of nature, scientists, doctors, workers in different branches of the national economy. The matter is that the construction was undertaken in the area of a heightened seismicity. This is also a health resport area which abounds in unique forest reserves.

Taking all that into account it is planned to build, instead of an atomic power plant, an about 2,000,000 kilowatt thermal electric power station. It will rely on organic fuel.

Measures for Prevention of AIDS Discussed

PM111723 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 11 Feb 88 p 4

[TASS report: "Barriers To Stem the Epidemic"]

[Text] Problems of the diagnosis, prevention, and treatment of AIDS were the theme of a conference held in Moscow at the Sechenov No 1 Medical Institute. The participants—medical scientists and doctors—discussed ways of pooling their efforts to create a reliable barrier in the path of the "epidemic of the century." The main thing now, it was noted at the conference, is to draw up and implement a program which will enable millions of people to gain the correct understanding of a range of essential preventive measures.

World experience has shown, however, that considerable damage in this vitally important matter has—deplorable as it is—been inflicted by the news media on whose assistance millions of people depend. An opinion poll has revealed that an overwhelming section of the population gets its information about the disease, its causes, and preventive measures from newspapers. Unfortunately, journalists are still frequently providing their readership with conflicting information which sometimes engenders feelings of panic.

It is now extremely important to brief the public at large on methods of personal prevention aimed at reducing the risk factor.

Worldwide experience has shown that when such propaganda is carried out on a sufficiently broad scale, a solid barrier to AIDS is erected. Not just medics, but teachers, cultural workers, law enforcement personnel, and other specialists should be involved more widely in this work.

The main thing at the current stage of the fight against AIDS is the coordination of efforts in the struggle against this disease, since the epidemic is spreading right across borders and becoming a threat to all mankind. This is why it is so important to ensure the correct understanding and universal dissemination of the experience of the use of personal prevention measures by which is it possible to reduce the risk of contracting this deadly disease.

One of the avenues is the use of various protective means, including the undeservedly forgotten condom. Our industry must give some thought to increasing the production of these goods as a matter of urgency. The dangers of drug addiction must not be forgotten. Special attention must be focused on the screening of donated blood. The efficacy of these measures has already been proven in the experience of health services in a number of countries. Specific results have been obtained in reducing infection among various groups of the population.

In our country AIDS started spreading relatively recently. For this reason we, just like a number of neighboring states, are in a relatively favorable position. The fact that a state prevention program has gone into operation in the USSR at this early, initial stage gives us a considerable advantage in the struggle against the epidemic.

A very important social and moral aspect is the attitude toward those suffering from AIDS. Just like any other patients, the people suffering from this disease need a sympathetic attitude. Incidentally, normal contacts at work and in everyday life do not present a danger for those around them.

Let us recall that only one person suffering from AIDS was identified in our country, a Soviet citizen who had contracted AIDS abroad. However, he managed to infect 5 people in our country, who passed the disease on to 8 more people. Another 18 people have fallen ill, primarily as a result of sexual relations with foreign citizens.

What thoughts do these facts engender? The correct decision has been taken that all persons arriving in our country from abroad for a lengthy stay must undergo mandatory AIDS screening.

The reasons for this measure are obvious since of the 100,000 foreigners screened, 221 proved to be carriers of the AIDS virus and were deported. At present we have more than 200 laboratories which carry out AIDS screening. They exist in virtually all the major cities.

At a recent worldwide conference of health ministers on AIDS in London it was emphasized that in the absence of a vaccine or drugs to treat the disease, information and enlightenment programs remain the most important part of national campaigns to combat the disease. The main thing, a WHO appeal emphasized, is to coordinate cooperation between states in this sphere. Here are some more facts that everyone should know: The epidemic has now spread to all the continents and the total number of registered AIDS victims reached 80,000 by the end of 1987. The main task in the struggle against this danger is the creation of an effective prevention system. This responsible work must be tackled in earnest. There must be no panic, nor a frivolous attitude toward this dangerous illness. The extent of the real danger from which medics in all countries are trying to deliver mankind will largely depend on the conduct of each one of us.

Fire Protection Chief Links Drinking, Fires

OW110853 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 4 Feb 88

[V. Bakarinov video report; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] How do fires start? According to specialists they start for a variety of reasons, even from that banal cigarette butt. But it is hard to be lighthearted when you page through the reports of the Main Administration for Fire Protection of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Nationally, there are more than 125,000 fires annually, resulting in public property losses worth R300 million. Nearly 8,500 people become victims of the unchecked elements and flames. Some 3,000 pieces of all kinds of equipment turn into piles of molten metal.

[Begin video recording of Lieutenant General A.K. Mikeyev, chief of the Main Administration for Fire Protection, interview with Bakarinov] [Mikeyev] Fires are most often caused by carelessness, negligence, and irresponsibility. As a result, there is a new fire in the country every 4-5 minutes. Property worth nearly R1 million is turned into smoke and dust daily. What is most tragic is that an average of 23 people, of whom 5 are children, die every day.

[Bakarinov] In a recent issue of PRAVDA, Comrade Vlasov, minister of Internal Affairs, told readers about measures being taken by internal affairs organs in the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism. How does this evil relate to fires?

[Mikeyev] Almost two thirds of the fires in residential buildings occur due to drinking. Moreover, recently a new dangerous source of fire has appeared in houses and apartments. This is the moonshine still. As a result, every ninth fire occurs due to drinking or moonshine making. Both adults and children die. It is sufficient to say that last year alone 4,000 inebriated people died. More than 500 children fell victim to flames because of drunkards.

I would very much like to see everybody share our pain and concern over the present situation so that the public would take action. After all, only through common efforts can we solve the problem of fighting fires and preventing the death of people, which is a very important state task. [End recording]

Affect Food Production

LD111321 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 11 Feb 88

[remarks by Colonel Venyamin Anatoliyevich Abramov, deputy head of the Main Administration of the USSR Interior Ministry Fire Service]

[Excerpts] The situation concerning fires which has emerged of late is arousing serious concern. Judge for yourselves—last year there were 126,000 fires in the country, with a direct loss of almost R300 million. More than 700 people fall victim of fires every month, including many children. The situation remains very tense this year as well. [passage omitted]

Fires have also become a serious factor in slowing down fulfillment of the food program. At the Boltokhinov Kolkhoz in Irkutsk Oblast, 217 calves were lost in a fire. Overall, 48,000 head of cattle died in fires at agricultural facilities last year. The facts cited bear witness to the fact that fires have become a problem of the state. Today there is no industry, no town or village, and virtually no national economic site where these issues would not be urgent ones.

Such a conclusion comes from an analysis of the fires; for a significant proportion of them are the direct consequence of negligence, poor discipline, violations of the fire regulations in production and in the household, and—most disturbing of all at present—it is widespread drunkenness, and particularly moonshine-distilling, which regularly lead to fires. Suffice it to say that in 1987 alone, among those who died in fires more than 4,000 people were in a state of intoxication. On the consequences of drunkards are more than 500 children who have fallen victim to fire. For the year as a whole, drunkards and alcoholics were to blame for the occurrence of almost two-thirds of all fires in residential premises in the country.

Today, one cannot, regrettably, fail to note that the measures to combat drunkenness, alcoholism and mooshine distilling are so far having little effect on reducing the numbers of such tragic occurrences. One can obtain tangible results only by uniting the efforts of law-enforcement bodies and the broad public.

What is needed in solving the problem of combating fires and avoiding people's deaths is the participation of all state and public organizations, and of every Soviet person, without exception.

Yaroslavl Train Crash Aftermath Reported

PM121319 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent M. Ovcharov report under the rubric "From the Scene": "It's All Over..."]

[Excerpts] Yaroslavl—The consequences of the accident near the railroad bridge over the Volga in Yaroslavl, which we have already discussed (IZVESTIYA No 34), have been entirely eradicated. "There is no longer any threat to citizens' life and health"—this was stated to journalists by V. Kovalev, chairman of the Yaroslavl Oblispolkom Emergency Commission, at a press conference on Sunday 7 February. [passage omitted]

But now everything is really over. The matter of the rail accident has been closed: There is no trace of the Yaroslavl crash. But somehow one does not feel like celebrating. Let us be frank: The consequences of the crash could have been eliminated more quickly.

The fact is that the restoration work during the very first days after the crash was by no means brilliant, nor conducted at an emergency pace. On that first night when everyone was brought out by the alarm, when the danger was real, and when everyone was thinking only of how to secure the tank car, people worked furiously. But when the immediate danger seemed to recede, the workers of the Northern Railroad started working sluggishly and in a disorganized manner, hoping for additional emergency teams. Thus, despite numerous reminders and demands, the railroad workers were for a long time unable even to illuminate the rail bed for work at night. There was hardly anyone responsible for unloading the car, or even for people's safety! It was...militia workers who had to take charge. Yes, it was they, rather than professional railroad workers, who were forced to notify the workers about the approach of trains. Incidentally, it was no accident that a militia worker, who was almost constantly on the embankment from the very first hour after the crash, broke his arm purely as a result of flagrant violations of safety techniques.

This staggering irresponsibility, one imagines, also led to a very unpleasant incident near Rostov, as was stated at one of the emergency commission sessions. It was there that the first small batch of (already neutralized) earth was taken. Then it turned out that the officials responsible for the operation had taken a quite thoughtless approach, decreeing that the earth be burned in a working quarry. The quarry was just 1 km away from two villages. But it was deemed unnecessary to inform not only the population but even...the CPSU gorkom and gorispolkom about this.

This is how it ended: When the truck convoy approached the quarry, its way was barred by a group of alarmed women: "We won't let you through! We live here! Why don't you go ahead and burn it all in Yaroslavl!" The convoy had to turn round....

By discussing this, I do not want to cast doubt on the intensive concerted work of many people—chemists, medics, railroad workers, soldiers, militiamen, workers from the State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration, and firemen—to clean up after the crash. The latest session of the emergency commission—held on Sunday—adopted a resolution to reward all those who distinguished themselves during those 6 days and nights. [passage omitted]

But nonetheless people will say: Would we have needed feats if there had been no accident and the tank car had carried on down the rails to its destination? For the moment I can repeat what I have already written: The Northern Transport Prosecutor's Office has instituted criminal proceedings relating to violations of safety regulations; can we hope that we will establish why the drama happened and just who was to blame? We will see. But there is still a nagging feeling that various railroad accidents and crashes have been happening too often recently. Or perhaps we simply never used to hear about them?

Incidentally, the Yaroslavl accident is still a very rare occurrence. Of course, it is not a question of the size of the accident itself—it was not so large in comparison with other crashes. It is a question of something else—the danger of a freight train derailing near a railroad bridge and threatening the lives and health of many citizens. Fortunately there were no fatalities, although 55 people were hospitalized. Seventeen people are still in the hospital.

True, those who cleared away the consequences of the accident suffered, but the population of the city was not affected. Yet there need not have been any victims at all. More than once I saw with my own eyes people working on the embankment without gas masks or protective suits: They had simply not put them on out of negligence, or rather, out of ignorance. Yet the officials looked on unconcerned. [passage omitted]

Deputies Vote To Retain Name of Gorkiy

PM111417 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 30 Jan 88 p 2

[Ye. Abramov article: "Glasnost—Barrier Against Rumor: Citizens Objected"]

[Text] Gorkiy—Any rumor spreads like wildfire. This time was no exception. A group of well-known people in Gorkiy had not even managed to have a letter printed in the local newspaper, in which they suggested reverting to the city's former name of Nizhniy Novgorod, before everyone was talking about how the "authorities" were

categorically against the idea, had no intention of discussing it with the people, and would "do as they wished." The rumors grew stronger after V. Morokhin, a well-known scientist and a professor at Gorkiy University, contended that the present name is far more correct.

Those in favor of renaming the city organized a rather tumultuous campaign in defense of their idea and even intended to set up a special fund in the State Bank.

The gorispolkom took the only right decision under the circumstances: to allow the issue to be broadly discussed by the people of Gorkiy. First the city soviet party group examined the arguments on both sides. Then the press, television, and radio asked everyone to give their viewpoint. It was explained to people at the same time that the issue of new passports and birth certificates alone would cost R9,327,000. Replacing the documents, forms, stamps, and seals of enterprises organizations, and institutions in the city and oblast would cost three times as much. Moreover, renaming the city would also entail changes in numerous reference books, maps, and other documents in our country and abroad. The total cost would be no less than R50 million. A large residential area could be built with this enormous amount of money.

Editorial offices, television, and radio received an enormous amount of mail. City soviet deputies studied the opinions of their fellow citizens as well as the historical, political, and socioeconomic aspects of the issue. The issue was discussed at a scheduled session on the basis of the fact that public opinion polls had revealed the following: Proud of their great fellow citizen M. Gorkiy, the absolute majority of people living in Gorkiy were against the renaming of the city.

"The session rounded off a long discussion," V. Babakayev, secretary of Gorkiy Gorispolkom, said. "If I am not mistaken, only 4 out of 500 deputies voted in favor of renaming the city. Citizens were publicly informed of the decision. The scandalmongers were disgraced."

Well, it only remains to hope that all issues affecting the interests of large groups of people are resolved in the same way—in the spirit of restructuring.

1950's 'Doctors' Case' Described

PM111419 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 6, 7 Feb 88 p 16

[David Gay article: "The 'Doctors' Case'"]

[Text] During the early 1950s the Soviet state was rising from the ruins and straightening its shoulders after the postwar economic dislocation. This was when the atom was harnessed, and when giant hydroelectric power stations and canals were built. The people who had won the war had a right to expect to be offered a new life—a free and open life—and they were ready for it, as they had fought and suffered for it. Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about the postwar years in his report in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. He said: "...a contradiction between what our society had become and the old methods of leadership was making itself felt ever more appreciably. Abuses of power and violations of socialist legality continued. The 'Leningrad case' and the 'doctors' case' were fabricated."

On January 13, 1953, the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union reported the arrest of a group of doctors. It was announced that the terroristic group of medicos was aiming to cut short the lives of certain Soviet activists by giving them fatal medical treatment: "Comrades A.A. Zhdanov and A.S. Shcherbakov both fell victim to that band of humanoid beasts.' And further: "It has been established that all the members of the terroristic group of doctors were in the service of foreign intelligence agencies, had sold them their souls and bodies, were their hirelings and paid agents. The majority of the members of the terroristic group—Vovsi, B. Kogan, Feldman, Grinshteyn, Etinger and others—had been bought by the American secret service. They were recruited by a branch of the American secret service, the international Jewish bourgeois-nationalistic organization joint.... Other members of the terroristic group (Vinogradov, Mr. Kogan, Yegorov) are...old-time agents of the British intelligence."

The report was like a bolt from the blue. The leading medical scientists and practising doctors, and consultants at the Kremlin Hospital are spies and assassins?! At first, people refused to believe it. However, many did believe it, and outpatient hospitals became deserted, and patients at hospitals refused to take prescribed medicine. White medical robes filled people with fear.

How did the "doctors' case" start? Yefim Smirnov, Academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, Hero of Socialist Labour and postwar Minister of Public Health, throws some light on this. He reminisced in one of his interviews:

"Shortly before January 13, 1953, I was invited to Stalin's dacha near Sochi. We were walking in the garden and talking. Stalin pointed to lemon and orange trees and explained how you should look after them. Suddenly, he asked me without any introduction:

'Comrade Smirnov, do you know which doctor treated Dimitrov and Zhdanov?'

'Yes,' I said, and gave him the name.

'Strange. Both were treated by the same man and both died.'

'Comrade Stalin, the doctor was not to blame.'

'What do you mean "not to blame"?'

'I was interested in Dimitrov's case record and the medical findings. I make bold to persuade you that he was beyond any treatment. Incidentally, I know that Dimitrov himself recommended that doctor to Zhdanov. He thought of him as an educated and tactful man, and a well-qualified specialist.'

"Stalin didn't say anything. Yet I had the feeling that I had failed to convince him. Stalin had always been suspicious, and that trait became simply pathological in him towards the end of his life."

Wrote Professor Yakov Rapoport, who had been arrested in connection with the "doctors' case" (his memoirs are presently being prepared for publication in the DRUZHBA NARODOV magazine):

"During his last visit to Stalin, Professor Vinogradov discovered a sharp deterioration in the health of his patient and wrote in the case record about the necessity for following a strict regimen, strictly excluding any activity. It should be said that Vinogradov's diagnosis was fully confirmed after Stalin's death. However, while the 'leader of peoples' was alive, the political naivety of the outstanding medical man cost him his freedom and could have cost him his life: his recommendation was regarded as an attempt to remove Stalin from any field of activity, including, of course, political."

When Beria, who controlled medical supervision of Stalin's health, told Stalin about Vinogradov's conclusion, Stalin flew into an indescribable rage and cried out: "Put him into irons! Put him into irons!"

The outburst of rage was probably not accidental. It's quite possible that Stalin remembered the period when Lenin was ill, and his role in isolating the leader of the Revolution from Party work—under pretext of concern for the latter's health. Now it looked as if hewas in exactly the same situation, the doctor in charge of his health was prescribing him complete rest and abstention from any activity.

Professor Vinogradov was arrested soon afterwards.

The arrest of the first and more authoritative group of doctors took place in November 1952, right after the anniversary of the October Revolution.

Architect Leonid Jogan, son of Professor Boris Kogan, reminisced:

"I was studying at the Architecture Institute then. Once I came home late and suddenly heard loud voices inside the apartment. A search was on. My father had been taken away, as I understood. The search went on throughout the night: the walls were checked, they searched for weapons, poison and so on. My father had been member of the Party since February 1917. He was among the organizers of Soviet power in Volyn. Afterwards he devoted himself to medicine and became one of Moscow's leading doctors. He was in charge of the health of prominent Comintern activists and had treated Dimitrov (it was B. Kogan Stalin spoke about in the abovementioned talk with the then Minister of Public Health Smirnov-David Gay.) My father and Dimitrov were friends. It must have been an outrage for him to hear at the first court proceedings that he was a foreign agent."

Doctor Valentina Gotlib, daughter of Professor Yakov Gotlib who died before the sad events:

"My father had to treat Bagirov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, who was later shot together with Beria. When my father was in Baku in 1946, he treated 7bagirov to chromocystoscopy, which normally had to be preceded by injection of a special solution into the patient's vein. In the case of Bagirov, the solution was first injected into my father's vein, then into his patient's.

"Returning to the events of 1952, our family and the Vovsi family were friends. We celebrated the 7th of November at their place. Soon we learned that Miron Semnovich had been arrested. What for? Why? We knew absolutely nothing. Vovsi was Chief Physician of the Red Army during WWII. He was an outstanding clinician and scientist. What was the matter?"

Engineer Lyubov Vovsi:

"After graduating from Moscow University, I married and went to live in Leningrad. I spent the 1952 November holiday with my three-year-old son at my parents' place in Moscow. My father went out with me for a walk. As we were walking along, he suddenly told me: 'Vinogradov has just celebrated his 70th birthday. He received somewhat strange half-congratulations. Yegorov is also in trouble.' I understood: my father wanted to prepare me for the coming events. He probably had a foreboding about many things lying ahead.

"I left for home with an uneasy feeling. Father was arrested on November 11, at night."

The monstrous accusations hurled at people who had enjoyed universal esteem appalled some citizens, were appreciated by others, and revived old-time prejudices in others. People learned the name of a rank-and-file physician of the Kremlin hospital, Lydia Timashuk, who allegedly played a major role in exposing the "band of criminals". She was decorated with the order of Lenin by a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. One newspaper wrote: "We didn't know this woman until recently, but now the name Lydia Ffedosevna Timashuk has become a symbol of Soviet patriotism, vigiliance, and unremitting and courageous struggle with the foes of our Motherland. She helped unmask American hirelings, monsters who used their positions as physicians to murder Soviet people."

None of those entered on the main list of participants in the "terroristic group" is alive now. The last of them to die was 90-year-old Vladimir Vasilenko, Hero of Socialist Labour, Academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. Those people very rarely shared their prison experiences with others. The pain didn't subside with the passing of years. The hated questions opened up old wounds. That probably explains why their relatives could remember very few episodes from their periods in prison.

Interrogations were conducted at night. The hardest thing to endure was being kept awake day and night. During the questioning, powerful lamps were shone square into your face. Vera Vovsi has hated bright light ever since....

Miron Vovsi was told to admit his connections with German's Hitlerite secret service. Marion Semenovich hurled back at his investigator: "You've made me an agent of two secret services, don't try to associate me with the German one - my father and my brother's family were tortured to death by fascists in Dvinsk." "Do not try to use the blood of your relatives for your own aims," was the investigator's answer.

Head of the department for investigation of particularly important cases at the Ministry of State Security, Ryumin was personally responsible for the "doctors' case". He was absolutely immoral, cynical, aspiring to power and career-seeking. Ryumin deliberately falsified investigation material. He had started to "work" on the doctors long before their arrests. Sofya Karpay, head of the electrocardiography section of the Kremlin Hospital, and Yakov Etinger, consultant at that hospital, became his victims even before the press release concerning the "terroristic group". The two were accused of deliberately falsifying the diagnosis of Andrey Zhdanov's electrocardiogram. Etinger didn't survive the jail conditions and died.

Ever more people were arrested. Ryumin looked forward to new ranks and decorations. Then, Stalin died. The imprisoned doctors were not informed about this. The investigation sessions, though somewhat less active, went on, as if out of inertia.

The reaction of most of the relatives and children of those arrested was this: "Now there's no one to help our relatives." They regarded Stalin as a saviour and protector.

On the night of April 3-4, all arrested doctors and their wives were unexpectedly released from prison, and taken home. Only then did they find out what was being written about them in the press, and about Stalin's death.

The next morning newspapers published a dispatch which read in part: "Investigations have proved that the accusations were false, and that the documents used by investigators were inconsistent. It has been established that the evidence allegedly incriminating the arrested people was extorted by the investigators of the former Ministry of State Security using methods inadmissible and strictly forbidden by Soviet law."

Below, there was an item about the cancellation of the decree concerning the decoration of Timashuk with the Order of Lenin. She worked at the Kremlin Hospital for a long time before retiring. This fact should be mentioned because some people still believe and disseminate the lie that Timashuk died in a car crash organized for her in the mid-1950s. In fact, she died of old age.

Vovsi, Vinogradov, Kogan, Yegorov, Feldman, Vasilenko, Grinshteyn, Zelenin, Preobrazhenskiy, Popova, Zakusov, Shereshovskiy, Mayorov, and others got back their honest names and returned to their medical work.

As for Ryumin, a government press release stated: "Considering his especially dangerous activity and the grave consequences of his crimes, the Military Judicial Board of the Supreme Court of the USSR is sentencing Ryumin to the supreme punishment - death by firing squad." Other members of the former Ministry of State Security who were involved in falsifications and in piling up accusations also suffered severe punishments.

That was the end of the "doctors' case".

Economic

Shmelev on Problems of Funding Restructuring

PM111451 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 6, 7 Feb 88 p 10

[Interview with economist Nikolay Shmelev by Viktor Loshak: "The Rouble And Perestroyka"]

[Text] Last year Nikolay Shmelev became famous as the author of the novel "Pashkov House", serialized in the magazine "Znamya". But now Nikolay Shmelev's name appears in "MN" with titles Doctor of Science (economics) and Professor. In his interview with "MN" correspondent Viktor Loshak he deals with finance and perestroika.

[Shmelev] Financing perestroika is one of the most crucial issues of our economy today. Apparently, the traditional budgetary means, even if we decide to fill the gaps in the present-day budget (and they have to be filled), are altogether inadequate. New, non-traditional, financial sources are needed.

The possibility of a real reduction of military expenditure is a separate question. I would like to draw the readers' attention to two other potentially important, though as yet untapped, sources of financing.

Credit systems are extremely undeveloped in our country. Available savings are not put to effective use in the sphere of production. There are about 260,000 million

roubles deposited in savings banks, which is too often compared with the existing mass of commodities to be purchased. This out-of-circulation money brings pressure to bear on the market and aggravates the problem of good shortage in the country. It needs to be used on a long-term basis (without being withdrawn when the owner's mood changes) to finance the country's investment requirements. But this can happen only if there is a clearly outlined gain for the depositors of these funds. It must not be forgotten that the population keeps considerable sums not in savings banks but in "piggy banks" at home.

If we allow enterprises to issue and well shares, and the population to buy them at a sufficiently high rate of intereset, industrial associations, collective and state farms will be able to raise tens of billions of roubles in addition to their own resources. Potential creditors from among the population will gladly put their money into circulation with a seven-ten per cent interest rate. From the viewpoint of political economy, the interest gained would hardly differ from that offered by savings banks.

In addition, the state may considerably expand direct loans from the population by increasing the interest rate on state bonds. So far we have been increasing state loans and, consequently, the state debt in an unhealthy and covert manner. Why can't this be done overtly? National debt is a normal economic phenomenon. And if it is voluntary, if people willingly lend their money to the state for a long term, we don't have to fear it.

In almost all countries, including socialist, normal credit (that is, based on commercial principles and revocable) has long become the mightiest motive force of the economy. But in this sphere we are still in a state of infancy. For example, why can't the enterprises give one another their free money on credit? Why can't cooperators set up their own banks? Why does the state, paying such a low rate of interest on the population's bank savings, encourage people to spend their money rather than save it? No one can give a reasonable answer to these questions.

[Loshak] There is also another source-borrowing from other countries. At first glance this looks simple and very complicated at the same time, if we remember, for example, the problems caused by national debt in Poland and Hungary.

[Shmelev] Our net debt at the beginning of 1987 was relatively small as compared, for example, with Poland—35,000 million dollars, Yugoslavia—about 20,000 million. Our per capita foreign debt is considerably less than in all European socialist countries. In general, taking into account all aspects and all geographic directions of our debts, our world position is that of creditor not debtor.

The growth of foreign debt in the world, unless it exceeds certain limits, is regarded as an absolutely normal phenomenon. What's more, growing debt in this sphere is typical for many countries, usually in periods of their history when a profound structural reorganization of their economy is being carried out.

In the next few years we could, probably, borrow from the world credit markets a few dozen billion dolalrs and still remain solvent, that is without overstepping the danger limit. Naturally, the money borrowed on a long-term basis should be mainly spent on buying advanced imported equipment to enable us to start export production in machine building and other promising industries. Then, five-seven years later, their output could be used to pay off credits. We must not repeat the mistake of the 1970s when even long-term foreign credits were, to a considerable extent, spent on food. In the future long-term credits could also be turned (with the right efforts on our part) into shares and bonds of joint ventures. This is already becoming a wide international practice and there is no sense in us remaining aloof.

[Loshak] But even the growth of joint ventures shows that not everything is going as well as expected in this sphere.

[Shmelev] Our intentions in starting joint ventures have not become a reality yet. Such enterprises could bring speedy efficiency in the sense of filling up the market, especially in the agro-industrial sphere. But for this, according to Western businessmen, we have to renounce the principles of keeping profits at a tough ratio, the unacceptably high taxation rate, and keeping Western partners out of management of joint ventures and, finally, orientate such enterprises not only towards exports but also the home market: Just try to put yourself in the place of an American businessman. If in the USA he pays 34 per cent profits tax, somewhere in South-East Asia—20-25 per cent, but in the Soviet Union—44 per cent, is there any sense in him investing money in our country?

Maybe access to our market? But we tell him that the products of a certain enterprise must go to the foreign market and not to the home market. And he knows that even without us there are many rivals on the foreign market.

It seems that positive tendencies in the international situation of recent years make hopes for the success of our more active credit policy quite realistic. Of course, determination is needed and, judging by everything, it would be met with understanding by international financial circles. Significant in this sense has been the successful floating by a branch of the International Economic Cooperation bank (Vneshekonombank) of the USSR in Zurich of the first Soviet bond issue.

[Loshak] Price reform, too, much strengthens perestroyka financially. Prices must start to reflect real expenditure in industry and agriculture. You, if we recall "Advances and Debts", are an advocate of a careful levelling out of prices, preceded by an honest and open dialogue. But lately the press carried all sorts of opinions, form "hurry up, be quick..." to "by no means". Despite the general positive character of such a frank conversation, there are rumours and tension.

[Shmelev] These rumours are spread keenly.

The vagueness of the state's intentions regarding the proclaimed price reform and the lack of confidence in the general assurances that it won't lead to a reduction in the people's standard of living serve to whip up apprehensions. To begin with, the population does not fully understand why the price reform is needed or what its aims are. It may have two aims, and they, in many ways, are incompatible.

This means that either we should create, at long last, a system of objective, economic landmarks in our national economy, enabling us to know for sure the real price of products, how much they cost us and, therefore, to take objective and not arbitrary decisions (that is, not according to the principle, he who shouts louder gets more). Because of the present unrealistic structure of prices, we are actually living in the "kingdom of distorting mirrors": what is actually big seems small to us, and vice versa; the straight—curvy, and the curvy—straight. The present purchasing price of meat, for example, is such that if the district committee lost control, half of our state and collective farms would slaughter their herds because they would only bring them losses. With the present prices, contrary to all economic logic, it is more profitable for us to drill new oil and gas wells than develop power-savings equipment and technology. Since the price of land has never been considered in our country, for whole decades we were convinced that the cheapest form of energy is produced by hydroelectric power stations. The people who decided this turned out to be uniquely "clever", organizing the building of cascades of hydroelectric power stations on flat country, thus ruining many million hectares of the most fertile soil.

The list of such absurdities continues. To prevent such things in the future we need a radical reform of prices.

[Loshak] Yes. It may also be set redistribution tasks: attempts to limit the consumption of some products and stimulate that of others, to improve the condition of the budget by decreasing its outlays and increasing revenues—these already represent something different, and this is what many people in our country fear.

We should all understand that a purely technical reform of prices (even the most thorough) can be accomplished without the slightest harm to the population. The state budget subsidies for food, transport, communal services and so on will amount this year to about 90,000 million roubles.

What difference does it make to all of us if we get this money in covert form, through artifically low prices, or, as you say, "straight into our pockets"? I know the answer beforehand: "That's true, of course, but won't they cheat us? Will they be able to resist the temptation of improving some state affairs at our expense?" Taking into consideration our past, these apprehensions are understandable. And the current discussion of prices must finally give a clear and unambiguous answer to these questions.

Of course, sooner or later, we'll have to do away with the system of state subsidies. But already today higher authorities could, I think, make a clear commitment that, in any case, the bulk of the population would be compensated if state subsidies on food prices and communal services were eliminated, through corresponding increments in wages and pensions, reductions in the prices of manufactured consumer goods, additionals to deposits of savings banks.

[Loshak] Perhaps it is time to ask the question more broadly—about the reform of the entire financial system?

[Shmelev] You see, the present financial system is based, in many respects, on inflation methods of financing. State incomes and expenditure are mere fiction, thin air, presenting an illusion of money with no material security behind it. The most obvious manifestation of such a situation is the levying of taxes from enterprises to the budget, well before their output is sold and irrespective of whether it will be sold. A similar role is played by the crediting of industrial and agricultural enterprises, which has more or less turned into pure irrevocable financing (the pumping of empty money into the economy). The debts of agricultural enterprises alone amount to around 140,000 million roubles. One of the gravest consequences of such "inflated" financing is the number of launched construction projects in the country which is nearly three times the amount we can afford.

Most probably the budget revenues must be formed in the future on other, more sound, principles. I think that of the greatest importance here are, first, the restriction of money printing (in all its manifestations), second, a gradual transition, in the course of price reform, from the turnover tax as the basic way of ensuring budget revenues, to tax deductions from industrial and agricultural incomes. Third, the practice of collecting turnover tax on goods not yet sold should be stopped. Also dangerous for perestroika is the deep-rooted practice of withdrawing from many branches, especially in light industry, over 90 per cent of their budget revenues. This way we shall never develop these branches.

In budget outlays (not to mention the possibilities of reducing military expenditure) we must, first, transfer the centre of gravity of investment financing to enterprises and associations, that is, at the expense of their own incomes, second, gradually stop all or nearly all types of subsidizing and all forms of actual budgetary support for irrevocable crediting.

[Loshak] A single exchange rate for the rouble is now being discussed ever more broadly—Vneshtorgbank cheques, a convertible rouble and, finally, a rouble which we use inside the country. Isn't it time to breathe a new life into our money, to bring the rouble to a single exchange rate so as to strengthen the financial basis of perestroyka?

[Shmelev] There can be two immediate aims (and quite realistic) first, to fix a real and, especially important, a single exchange rate for the rouble (now there are actually more than 2,000 such rates). In practice this will mean its devaluation and, consequently, the growing

attractiveness of exports for enterprises and reduction of their pressure on imports. The other aim is to introduce the so-called "financial convertibility" of the rouble (its free convertibility at the level of the leading banks) as a first step towards its full convertibility.

This will make it possible to link prices on the home and foreign markets, to introduce not illusory but real cost accounting in foreign trade, to pass over from bilateral to multilateral cooperation within the CMEA framework, to open the Soviet market for CMEA countries, to ensure the possibility of conversion of debts (that is, maneuvering with various types of our debts and money owed to us) and, finally, to remove the main obstacle in the way of organizing joint ventures in our country. Apart from our active balance of payments, these measures may partly be ensured by our commodity reserves, partly by our gold currency reserves, parly by international credit. In principle, it seems that we should think about the possibility of cooperation between our country and the International Monetary Fund.

As you see, in this sense, the price, financial and currency reforms do not endanger in any of their aspects the interests of the population. On the contrary, by strengthening the rouble and the state finances, they contribute to the creation of conditions under which honest and conscientious work, initiative and thriftiness will justly themselves in theory and in real life, taking into account the interests of the state, of the enterprises and of each individual.

[Loshak] As a journalist and economist, you often write for the press. Following the course of perestroyka in the papers, its economic reform, on what aspects would you concentrate your attention?

[Shmelev] For the future of perestroyka, perhaps it would be more useful today to concentrate the attention of the press and the public on its difficulties, its drawbacks. without overcoming these it will be impossible to achieve the aims set. Illusions and hopes for a too hasty result are dangerous. Perhaps it would be better if everyone in our country realized how difficult the task we have shouldered is, and how slow and complicated the process. We have to introduce into all spheres of our social life the understanding that all that is economically ineffective is immoral, and all that is effective is moral.

Aganbegyan Sees 'Free Economic Zones' Possible

PM121001 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 4 Feb 88 Section 3 p 2

[Johan Myrsten report: "Swedish Model Aids Soviet Union"]

[Text] Swedish labor policy could provide important lessons when the Soviet Union comes to tackle the problem of the millions who will be laid off in the wake of economic reorganization. So said Mikhail Gorbachev's architect of economic reform, Abel Gezevich Aganbegyan, when he appeared in Stockholm yesterday.

Yesterday Aganbegyan addressed SVENSKA DAGBLADET's Executive Club at the Grand Hotel in Stockholm. Later in the day he visited the National Labor Market Board after meeting Labor Minister Ingela Thalen earlier during his visit. A meeting with Energy and Environment Minister Birgitta Dahl was also on the influential Aganbegyan's program. (Aganbegyan was featured in a detailed interview in SVENSKA DAGBLADET's Tuesday [2 Feb] edition).

At a news conference yesterday Aganbegyan outlined the background to the need in the Soviet Union for a labor market policy along Swedish lines. In the years up to the year 2000 it is estimated that approximately 16 million Soviet citizens will be laid off and will need retraining or employment agency services to find new jobs.

According to Aganbegyan the Soviet Union is also facing the dilemma that the generation that will enter the labor market in the next few years (the grandchildren of those who survived World War II) is so small that industrial productivity will have to increase sharply by 1.5 to 2 percent per year in the years leading up to the year 2000.

In a recently adopted resolution the Soviet Government has decided to set up a system of regional employment agencies and employment training organizations. The agencies will be paid for by enterprises and their services will be free to those seeking work.

Asked whether Estonia could become a free-standing economic zone, Aganbegyan replied that economic experiments are going on there as in other republics. In the case of Estonia total self-financing in agriculture and a market for capital goods is being tried.

"We are only at the beginning of the process. But it is possible that we might later make the transition to a system of free economic zones," Aganbegyan said.

Several times during the news conference the 55-year-old Armenian economics professor gave an account of differences of view on important Soviet questions and was happy to make his own views known, particularly on environmental policy, where the Soviet Union lags a long way behind many other countries.

However, Aganbegyan had nothing negative to say about the big nuclear power station complex at Ignalina in Lithuania.

Aganbegyan said that he personally had been fighting for decades against the major river diversion projects east of the Urals, and had even become involved in the defense of the threatened Lake Baykal. A special committee has recently been established to draft environmental regulations, extend environmental research, and so on. It has the right to demand the the closure of factories that are too dangerous to the environment, Aganbegyan said, giving an example:

"The big wood pulp factory on Lake Baykal is to be closed, according to a decision.

"But the important thing is that the decision is actually implemented," Aganbegyan added with a brief laugh.

Reform Modifies Commerce, Industry Chamber Roles

LD111257 Moscow TASS in English 1153 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 11 TASS—The reform of the Soviet Union's foreign economic relations system modifies fundamentally the role and functions of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Vladislav Malkevich, president of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said in a TASS interview. The reform, which is an integral part of the drive for restructuring in the USSR, brings the producer of goods closer to the foreign market, presupposes a deeper involvement of Soviet enterprises and whole branches of industry in the international division of labour, Vladislav Malkevich said.

In conditions of decentralization of foreign economic relations, the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry is meant actually to become an expcnent of the interests of enterprises and amalgamations, of the entire national economy in businesslike ties with foreign markets, development of such new forms of cooperation in science and technology, and setting up joint ventures.

The chamber is assigned the role of the coordinator which can overcome problems in shifting to a new system of foreign economic relations. Gaining the right to enter world market by numerous Soviet enterprises and ministries has set to representatives of foreign business communities the problem of choosing the more suitable partner for businesslike cooperation. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry is ready to help in tackling the "growth problems" which are inevitable in the process of wrecking the structures formed, and select the trade partner on the Soviet market.

Setting up an association of businesslike cooperation with foreign countries is another new form of work. The goal of such associations is not so much export-import operations as the development of new forms of economic interaction, first and foremost, shared production and joint business enterprises. The USSR has a vast scientific and technical potential, Vladislav Malkevich emphasized. The establishment of the association of businesslike cooperation will allow organisations in the USSR to utilize foreign experience to expedite the application of scientific discoveries in production. The first such association has already been formed with West Germany.

The attaining of the tasks set to the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry will require an extension of business contacts with international organisations, chambers of commerce and industry of other countries, primarily socialist states. The success is inconceivable without overhauling the work of the chambers of industry of Soviet republics and cities. These bodies of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry at the local level should ensure the provision of the entire range of the afore-mentioned services to the enterprises and departments which are incorporated in them.

TRUD Reviews January Industrial Performance

PM121429 Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Feb 88 p 1

[V. Raskin "Economic Review": "Plan and Economic Accountability. On Some Results of Industry's Work in January"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics has reported the results of industry's work in the 1st month of this year. An analysis of these results is particularly interesting today: First, there has been a sharp increase in the number of enterprises which have switched to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing (in numerical terms, 55 percent of industrial production potential). Second, there has been a noticeable expansion of the sphere of state acceptance activity. The Law on the State Enterprise (Association) came into force 1 January. Briefly speaking, the 1st month's example is indicative in many respects.

But how did industry perform? On the whole, not too badly: Industrial output growth was 4.7 percent compared with January last year. This is a good pace. Matters are more complicated regarding quality. State acceptance at 2,200 enterprises rejected articles worth R1.3 billion on first submission in January. This represents 9 percent of the total volume of output. In addition, output worth R5 million was rejected finally. Here is a real reserve for boosting production efficiency and profitability and, of course, the actual profit on which enterprises' financial prosperity is directly dependent in conditions of economic accountability.

One of today's main indicators is the fulfillment of contractual commitments on deliveries. An encouraging trend toward improvement can be noticed here. The indicator of delivery fulfillment in line with state orders and with direct commitments on the basis of contracts with consumers stood at 96.5 percent in January. But even though there are positive changes, the situation still cannot be accepted as normal: Some 16 percent, or almost one in every six associations and enterprises failed to cope with their commitments. Such irregular work costs collectives dearly, especially those which have switched to economic accountability. Therefore, enterprises, ministries, and departments must analyze the causes of disruptions, draw specific conclusions, and ensure that shortcomings are eliminated.

The fuel and energy complex sectors worked steadily. Above-target extraction amounted to 595,000 tonnes of petroleum and 2 million tonnes of coal.

Metallurgy workers ensured the fulfillment of state orders for finished rolled ferrous metal products and steel pipes. But enterprises under the USSR Ministry of

Ferrous Metallurgy allowed the buildup of a shortfall in other types of output—production of efficient cast billets, electric steel, and high-grade cold drawn steel.

Last month's output volume for most types of equipment manufactured by machine building complex enterprises was considerably higher than in January last year. But targets for many types of the most important articles covered by state orders were not met. The laggards include enterprises under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, and the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building.

It goes almost without saying that the manufacture of consumer goods is important. Last month's output of these goods (excluding the cost of alcoholic beverages) amounted to R26 billion (at retail prices). This represents 6 percent growth compared with the corresponding period of last year. But there are many laggards here, too. The prescribed targets were not met by enterprises under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry, and others. Production of radio receivers, television sets, washing machines, tape recorders, and sewing machines was less than planned. A lag was allowed to build up by enterprises under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry. There were 377 enterprises which failed to meet their contractual commitments in January, and delivery shortfalls amounted to R143 million.

In their desire to fittingly welcome the 19th All-Union Party Conference many labor collectives are now planning to make good the lag and make up the shortfalls. This is the most important task at the present stage.

New Council Debates Oil Industry Problems

PM120957 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 Jan 88 p 1

[G. Topuridze report: "Sector Council Formed"]

[Text] The first session of the sector council responsible for solving the main problems of the petroleum industry's economic, scientific and technical, and social development has been held in the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry.

"Casing head petroleum gas resources in West Siberia make it possible to extract 5-6 billion above-plan cubic meters of valuable hydrocarbon raw material before the end of the 5-year period, but we will need approximately R500 million in credit from the state for this to happen. Let us consider whether this is expedient in view of the fact that 70 percent of the above-plan profit will remain with our enterprises."

"It is possible to acquire a modern plant abroad to package milk with a shelf life of up to 3 months, build it in south Tyumen Oblast, and thereby solve the problem of supplying northerners with dairy products. To do this we must extract 200,000 tonnes of oil in excess of the plan..."

"Every year more than 1 million tonnes of petroleum sludge go to waste. It would be possible to extract 200-300,000 tonnes of oil from this using special mobile units. I think when we have full economic accountability this kind of increase will not put anyone out and will more than repay the expenditure with interest..."

These and other questions were raised for discussion in the country's petroleum industry council by its chairman, Minister V. Dinkov. The sector council includes the leaders of enterprises and institutes, front-ranking workers, and trade union representatives. The new, democratic organ will assess the results of the sector's work and draw up recommendations to further enhance production efficiency and disseminate progressive experience. It will meet at least twice a year.

The first session held a serious discussion on the work of enterprises and organizations in conditions of economic accountability and self-financing.

Drilling workers in West Siberia have made a fairly good start to the year: They have already drilled more than 250,000 meters in excess of the plan. But, as I. Gubenko, member of the council and deputy chief of Glavtyumenneftegaz for economic issues, pointed out, difficulties have arisen with financing this work. The council decided the enterprises themselves must find the resources for above-plan work.

The council recommended that work be stepped up in the sector to increase paid services to the population, the production of consumer goods, and the organization of cooperatives. It also pointed out that not all leaders at grassroots level show initiative. Many are still in the habit of waiting for instructions to come from above.

Life will show the effectiveness of the work of the petroleum workers' council.